Daily Report

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Berov Writes on Progress of Land Reform

AU0501161994 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 30 Dec 93 p 11

[Article by Prime Minister Lyuben Berov: "We Will Return the Land by the Summer of 1994"]

[Text] Recently most critics of the government's performance claim that the reforms have evidently "stalled" or "stopped."

In this respect, the critics usually give first place to the land reform. Precisely for this reason, it is necessary to know the true situation with the land reform.

In contrast to the restitution of property, from which a few percent of the town population obtained benefit, the agrarian reform affects the overwhelming majority of the Bulgarian people, inasmuch as just before and immediately after World War II three-quarters of the population obtained their subsistence from agriculture, and for this reason were connected either directly or through relatives with the ownership of a larger or smaller amount of land. It emerges from a special public opinion poll commissioned with the National Center for Investigating Public Opinion that 69 percent of the population expected to regain possession of agricultural land. In rural areas, the figure was 92 percent.

Information gathered under the Agricultural Land Act also indicates a similar picture.

Up to November 1993, on the basis of applications submitted for the return of land, the land commissions issued 1.93 million decisions recognizing ownership titles under Article 18, Paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Agricultural Land Act, relating to a total of 51.06 million decares of land. However, many of the decisions made concerned land claimed by two or more heirs, because of which a total of over 3 million land claims were received. This means that over half of the adult population submitted claims.

In its program, the government initially announced that it would return 80 percent of the agricultural land to which claims had been laid by the end of 1993, but as early as in April 1993 this commitment was adjusted to 55-60 percent, following a careful assessment of the real possibilities in this direction. The latter figure remains "enshrined" in all the official statements issued from the spring until now.

These are the results of the government's work in this direction to the end of 1993. Up to the end of November 1993, ownership titles to agricultural land were restored as follows:

—ownership within existing or restored real boundaries: 6.59 million decares;

—ownership through a land division plan: 11.73 million decares, making a total of 18.32 million decares.

To this amount one has to add 11.65 million decares for which temporary ownership certificates have been issued (in respect to claims covering about 70 percent of the recognized land), making a grand total of 29.97 million decares.

To these figures one has to add the results achieved in December 1993, which have still not been properly recorded statistically. The probable figure for land restored to its owners in December will be around 3.2 million decares, plus about 0.3 million decares in respect of which temporary ownership has been granted.

Thus, in the final analysis, by the end of 1993 about 33.5 million decares of land was returned to its owners, representing 65 percent of the land for which claims had been submitted. This shows that in general terms the government has fulfilled its commitment to restore ownership of "60-65 percent of the land." True, the issue of temporary ownership certificates does not legally constitute full restoration of land ownership within specific (actual) boundaries, but in practice, thanks to the work of the land division companies, the owner can already cultivate land almost equivalent to the land he claimed and for which his claim has been recognized by the appropriate land commission.

It is true that during the first half of the year the implementation of the agrarian reform did not proceed at a sufficiently fast rate. Because of this, from July this year radical measures were taken to speed up the process. The results are self-evident from the chart showing a monthly breakdown of the total amounts of land handed over to its owners.

[A graphic is appended to the article showing the cumulative amounts of land restored to its owners, expressed in millions of decares for each month of 1993; the chart shows the approximate amounts of land restored in the form of temporary ownership certificates, actually restored within real boundaries, and granted to the owners under the land division plan. According to the chart, in January 1993 approximately 5 million decares had been returned in all; by July, approximately 20 million decares, and by December over 40 million decares.]

This trend indicates that by the summer of 1994 the process of returning ownership titles to agricultural land will be largely completed. It will still be necessary to complete the work in a limited number of villages with specific juridical or other problems that are holding up the work, for example due to procrastination in adopting court decisions on land boundary disputes between villages. A public opinion poll has shown that two-thirds of the population approves extending the deadline for returning land to June 1994.

There are a number of basic causes that delay and hinder the process of farmland restoration, including the following:

First, one should point out the false sworn declarations on land owned prior to the so-called collectivization (making up more than half of the false declarations made under oath.) These claims relate to more than 3 million decares of land that in fact does not exist. For this reason, the claims for restoration of land have turned out to cover a greater amount of land than actually existed in the land holdings prior to collectivization. This especially applies to Burgas, Lovech, and Khaskovo Oblasts. The Council of Ministers has submitted a bill to the National Assembly to resolve the problem, but parliament has yet to debate it.

In many populated centers one encounters an organized (albeit secret) resistance to the land division plans on the part of various political forces. Often, this is a result of the desires of individual owners to obtain the land due to them in a particular locality and no other, desires that cannot be reconciled. A further major obstacle that one should mention is the fact that in many cases no documentary evidence of title is available because the old notarial acts have been lost, because documents were deliberately burnt when the owners entered the labor collective farms, and so forth.

In many populated centers the process is hindered because the boundaries between the agricultural and forest lands have not been established. In many cases concerning the return of ecologically polluted lands, the work of the land commissions is hampered by the absence of a concrete assessment by other organs of the form and extent of the pollution (which governs what crops may be sown and the conditions under which the land in question may be restored to the owners).

Major obstacles are being encountered in connection with the granting of state lands as compensation for other land or to landless peasants, as the law prescribes. The state land amounts only to 2.27 million decares (0.5 million decares of which is uncultivated land or pasture) and is extremely unevenly distributed, mainly in northeast Bulgaria, Plovdiv and Khaskovo districts, and elsewhere. Most of this land has been left for the liquidation councils to dispose of.

The problem of the liquidation councils and the completion of their work is still unresolved. Of a total of 2,067 liquidation councils throughout the country, only 257 will complete their work by 31 December. Of the remaining 1,810 councils, 1,322 have already finished defining the land shares under Article 27, Paragraph 1 of the act, but only 195 have finished apportioning the land and property in real terms.

Among the major objective reasons delaying the liquidation process, one should mention unresolved property lawsuits involving the former labor collective farms or the liquidation councils, the failure to complete financial audits, dues uncollected from various natural or juridical persons amounting to a total of 1.58 billion leva, the existence of stores of unusable plant protection agents and stocks of animals suffering from tuberculosis and leucosis, the failure of municipal land commissions to supply necessary information, and so on. In the case of 291 councils, the title holders do not want to receive the shares of property that are their due. Difficulties also arise from the fact that almost three- quarters of the liquidation councils have to continue production activities (spring sowing, harvesting) on a smaller or larger part of their land holdings.

The coin of the agrarian reform also has a reverse side. This is the extensive fragmentation of land ownership and agricultural production that will ensue in the initial period and will hamper the competitiveness of our new agriculture (especially in the production of grain and certain industrial crops). Available data on land already returned to its owners confirm that most holdings range between 15 and 20 decares. Few holdings are more than 50 decares in area, and very few above 100 decares. One-fourth of the title holders are receiving back less than 10 decares, and many of these are receiving only one or two decares. On a plot of 5-10 decares one can, for example, cultivate a decent vegetable garden, but it is impossible to develop competitive production of wheat, sugar beet, sunflowers, and so on.

Several ways of overcoming the fragmentation of land ownership and agrarian production are possible.

The first is related to the sporadic concentration of ownership along the purchases-sales line. The historical practice in our state shows that we cannot rely on this (at least as far as the rapid and radical solution of the issue is possible). During the period of 1897-1911 the degree of concentration of the land ownership in Bulgaria preserved an almost constant level. During the period of 1920-1945 a clear process related to a significant fragmentation of the agrarian property and production emerged. Now we restore this fragmentation.

The second possible way is related to leasing the land.

This is especially important when one takes into consideration that about 45 percent of the new owners (mostly inheritors) are living in the cities and do not intend to cultivate the land they are entitled to by themselves. Major leased farms, cultivating up to several thousand decares of land, could emerge under those conditions. So far about 10 such farms have been created, but they are not a mass phenomenon and will not become such a phenomenon, because of the temporary and unstable character of their basis. In addition, it is very difficult to merge a large number of scattered agrarian plots into a single mechanical service bloc, among other things, because those plots must have a common border.

The third way involves the establishments of owners' cooperatives, but the aforementioned difficulty (lack of a common border) applies also to this category. In addition, the owners who unite in a cooperative often do not posses the necessary ownership documents in which the precise borders of their plots are listed.

A draft bill on the cadastre has been submitted to the parliament. This draft bill will help those who want to cultivate their plots together, to receive neighboring plots when the agrarian land is divided, within specific and real borders. However, this still is a matter of the future. So far in the country 1,200 cooperatives have been registered. They have a total of 7.2 million decares of land and 268,000 participants. Their total share of cultivated land is substantially higher than the 13 percent they formally own, because often those cooperatives cultivate more land than they own. This is a typical phenomenon in Burgas Oblast.

However, the cooperatives issue is a rather politicized matter, and this hampers the correct solution of the issue from the view point of economic efficiency.

Zhelev Meets With Party, Public Representatives

AU0601180994 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 6 Jan 94

[Text] On 6 January President Zhelyu Zhelev met representatives of the Bulgarian Social Democratic and Green Parties. The economic situation in the country, problems with structural and agrarian reforms, and the alarming growth in unemployment were discussed. Also discussed were issues of international importance, including the situation in Yugoslavia in particular and in the Balkans in general.

After the meeting Stefan Radoslavov, chief secretary of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, expressed satisfaction with the rather similar positions on various issues that were noted.

On behalf of the Green Party, Vladimir Sotirov conveyed to the president a charter on national unity worked out by Green Party experts.

President Zhelev also met representatives of the Union of Thracian Associations, Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Associations, the Initiative Committee on Protecting the Rights of Bulgarian Refugees, and the Green Party. They demanded that the president utilize his influence on the parliament and the cabinet and facilitate the solution of the problems of the refugees of the Aegean and Thracian Macedonia and the issue of compensating those refugees. A petition on this matter was submitted by the four organizations on 6 November 1993 to the parliament, and they expect a more rapid solution of the issue.

Zieleniec on Clinton's Visit, 'Open' NATO

LD0601133594 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 6 Jan 94

[Text] Minister of Foreign Affairs Josef Zieleniec spoke at a news conference in Prague today on the coming visit to Prague of U.S. President Bill Clinton. He said that its program could be seriously changed by the death in the family of the U.S. President. Despite this, it is envisaged that the first day of the talks will have a bilateral Czech-U.S. character, while the second day of the visit will be devoted to consultations with representatives of other Visegrad countries.

As to the much discussed question of our relation toward NATO, Josef Zieleniec said:

[Begin Zieleniec recording] The fact is that we are seriously discussing with our Western partners, and thus also with the United States, our future membership, and we are expecting a statement saying that NATO is an open alliance. [end recording] [passage indistinct]

Deputy Chairman of Left Bloc on Clinton Visit

LD0601164894 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] The viewpoint on the coming visit of U.S. President Bill Clinton to Prague was published by the Left Bloc today. Jaroslav Ortman, deputy chairman of the party, said the following:

[Begin Ortman recording] The changed situation in Europe, we are convinced, should lead toward seeking new paths to solving questions of security and not toward using [word indistinct] patterns. It is obvious that the policy of the U.S. Government and the United States, presented by the "Partnership for Peace" plan, is in the incipient stage.

The path of the Left Bloc does not lead via the expansion of NATO. We have registered the words of Prime Minister Klaus saying that membership of the Czech Republic in NATO is not topical. No one wants us there anyway at the moment.

We see a solution in the system of collective security and not in the existence of a military pact of a part of Europe, whether big or small. We are convinced that, particularly in the sphere of seeking paths of collective security, Czech foreign policy should be much more active. [end recording]

Lux on Present, Future of Christian Parties

AU0501173994 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 4 Jan 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Josef Lux, chairman of the Christian and Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party, by Roman Krasnicky; place and date not given: "Our Voters Do Not Have To Attend Church Services"]

[Text] *Josef Lux, chairman of the Christian and Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party, rules out the possibility that his party could, in the future, receive less than 5 percent of votes: We will always be a parliamentary party, he says.*

[Krasnicky] How stable is the coalition after 18 months of existence?

[Lux] Just as it was at the beginning. It will last for the entire electoral term.

[Krasnicky] The Civic Democratic Party [ODS] represents 30 percent of all voters, your party just 6 percent. The ODS members dominate the Cabinet. Does their greater responsibility imply also a greater "right" to enforce their views?

[Lux] I reject any deliberation on diverse responsibilities. It is the same in the coalition. The only difference is in strength. The ODS is the strongest in the coalition, and it also uses the strength. The equality of the parties is given by the coalition treaty. If equality of the parties did not exist, we could speak not about a coalition but about a vassalage. The fundamental issues must be accepted by all coalition parties.

[Krasnicky] At the Olomouc congress of the Christian Democratic Party [KDS], you delivered a speech that has been favorably viewed by the KDS members. Is an association of the two parties feasible?

[Lux] It is true that I felt as if I was among good friends at the KDS conference. We have the same ideological basis, the same world view.... If I compare our policy statement with the KDS program, it is difficult to distinguish any substantial differences. Therefore, I see a lot of room for practical cooperation at all levels. The need for this cooperation is even more urgent if we realize that the Christian democratic concept of politics truly is the universal political alternative to all socialist and liberal egotist models. I hope that together we will be able to push through our model. I myself have two ambitions: first, to prove to people that it is not necessary for them to attend church services to be able to vote for a party with a Christian democratic program, as the propaganda is trying to make them believe, and second, that social regard and solidarity are not prerogatives of the left wing but, rather, are characteristic for us.

[Krasnicky] Public opinion surveys regularly attribute to you relatively few votes near the magic 5-percent limit. Does it make you uneasy? Do you believe that the third time around, in the 1996 parliamentary elections, you will be lucky again and manage to keep slightly above the limit?

[Lux] We do not feel at all uneasy. We work according to our concept, holding the entire four-year electoral cycle in perspective. The mistrust in election results that you indicated is based purely on lack of knowledge of our party. No other party has dared to advocate, at first sight, so many unpopular issues as ours. One instance is

agriculture. Some people whispered to me: Do not touch the farmers; you would lose traditional voters. I am convinced that it is necessary for this country to reduce the number of farmers by 50 percent, as is usual in the world, and therefore I am pushing through certain measures. Similarly, I refused to continue the practice of granting subsidies from the state treasury to private farmers and for each hectare. If they farmed individually, those 5- and 10-hectare farmers would soon go bankrupt anyway because such small farms cannot be competitive. I told them this immediately. Many have held it against me until today, but most understood that this saved them from the unhappy fate of bankrupts, and they will further combine in larger partnerships.

Dlouhy Discusses State of Economy, Prospects

AU0701093694 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 4 Jan 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Trade and Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy by Martin Frydl; place and date not given: "Stability During Economic Growth Requires a New Blend of Economic Policy"]

[Text] [Frydl] Mr. Minister, in your opinion, in what did the Trade and Industry Ministry succeed most last year and, on the contrary, in what did it succeed least?

[Dlouhy] If we talk about individual issues, I would say that, for instance, the successes included foreign visits. I inherited these from the Federal Foreign Trade Ministry, without a clearly defined concept, and I think we succeeded in getting them under way and in implementing a program supporting Czech exporters. On the other hand, I could talk about all sorts of problems: Temelin and the economic agreements, the Ingolstadt oil pipeline and state guarantees for the Bavarian Government, and the unfortunate case of Libkovice. However, no matter how many individual issues economic life is made up of, it is not evaluated according to them. The fundamental question is whether the Czech Republic's economic development in 1993 was correct and whether the government contributed to this by its economic policy. I think the answers to both questions are positive. Economic policy was oriented, first and foremost, toward maintaining macroeconomic stability and releasing certain growth incentives. If we compare the third quarter of 1993 and the third quarter of 1992, the figures do not indicate much growth. If we look at the absolute figures, however, it is possible to anticipate economic growth as early as the first quarter of this year.

[Frydl] The Czech Republic is doing relatively well in the macro sphere but is somewhat behind in the micro sphere. It is enough, for example, to look at insolvency or at the, so far, imperfect legislation. What can be done? We will not get by for long with a good macro situation alone.

[Dlouhy] This is true. If we do not succeed in getting growth under way, we will not maintain the stability of the macroeconomic parameters for long. If Czech enterprises do not improve their efficiency and productivity, our economy's development will begin to decline and get into difficulty. The macro parameters will not last if they are not generated from the micro level. From the Industry Ministry's point of view, I see a major problem in the implementation of ownership rights. We often hear criticism from the National Property Fund that there are banks here that, through the privatization funds, own a large part of the Czech economy, and the question is just how capable of implementing their rights are these owners, of restructuring, of closing inefficient production lines, and of obtaining new quality management. I consider this to be one of the most important microeconomic issues.

[Frydl] Do you think the current relatively good macroeconomic situation is proceeding from the good microeconomic situation or, rather, from the initial impetus caused by the change in our economy's orientation and the opening up of new opportunities?

[Dlouhy] The good macroeconomic situation is, first and foremost, a result of the fact that economic policy since 1990 has been conceived as a "package" of mutually linked steps: a balanced budget, relatively strong financial restrictions from the beginning, convertibility, and others. Compare the countries of the former CEMA, where the reform steps are not linked, and you will see far worse problems than in our country. The Czech Republic has also succeeded in reorienting its exports from the former CEMA to West European and other markets, and a private sector has evolved that has absorbed a considerable segment of unemployment. All of this has contributed to macro stability. It will not continue to be maintained by this alone, however. The time has come to show why we conducted privatization, and the private owners have to guarantee stability in the enterprises. Apart from this, until now we had macro stability during economic decline or stagnation. Now we want stability during economic growth. This requires a quite different blend of economic policy.

[Frydl] The government has specific prerequisites for future economic growth from which it proceeds in formulating its policy. It is banking on an average GDP increase of some 3.5 percent per annum up to the year 2000. With such growth, however, we will catch up with advanced states very, very slowly. In your opinion, would it not be bette, if not this year then at least in the future, to restore the Czech economy a little—for example, through the state budget? Are the several billions for so-called development projects in this year's budget enough to stimulate the economy?

[Dlouhy] The economy cannot be stimulated in one go. The aforementioned prodevelopment elements will certainly have some effect. This is simply the first step, and, in 1995, the situation could be far different in this regard. However, we are still at the transformation stage, and our economy is just establishing within itself all of the traits of the market. The question is whether

increasing budget expenditure or, as the case may be, the budget deficit would lead to economic growth or to higher inflation. In reality, these two factors are combined. However, one of them always prevails over the other.

[Frydl] Some people are comparing us with the "Asian tigers" whose economic growth has reached, and in some cases is reaching, the order of 10 percent.

[Dlouhy] Their conditions are completely different from ours. Such an ideal health and social security system, time off, and so on does not exist in many Asian countries. In other words, the people there are far less demanding. Our country is unwilling and indeed cannot tighten its belt so much in order to attain such growth. Instead, we should follow the paths of Portugal and Greece, but, of course, with the advantage of a far better quality work force. Despite this, we are not burdened with the Western welfare state syndrome; we have great commercial potential. However, it is necessary to state that our economic path toward Europe will be a path on a scale of several decades. The real rapprochement of living standards will take a long time.

[Frydl] You compare us with the countries of southern Europe. They have received considerable assistance by joining the EC, however, and it is hard to say where their economies would be today without this membership. Moreover, at the moment, we cannot rely too much on the whim of the European Union [EU]. What do you think of the opinion that, in view of our membership being a distant prospect, we should not set such great store by it?

[Dlouhy] I would not say that we will be relying on the EU's whim. Many other countries are waiting to join, and the Community has made it clear to us that we will not become a member in a year or two. It will be a long process. For example, Austria, Sweden, and Finland are ahead of us. Due to our advantages, however, we may be in a better position than, for instance, Greece and Portugal, although we will not receive subsidies from the EU's budget. However, I am afraid that we will not get ahead at the pace of the Asian tigers. We are a European country with a European environment, traditions, and habits. I have already demonstrated on several occasions a certain restraint with regard to the EU. This is associated with the aforementioned foreign visits, in which I try to visit other countries and thus expand our economic contacts. On the other hand, I would not want the Czech Republic to choose, as an explicit policy, to orient itself other than toward the EU. European integration is a train from which we cannot jump.

[Frydl] The issue of the Czech economy's specific orientation in the world economy is associated with this. Some rapidly developing countries have found a "market gap" on which to base their prosperity. This could be a specific branch of industry, a general technological orientation, unequivocal support for exports, and so on. It seems that, at the moment, the Czech Republic does not have such a strategy.

[Dlouhy] Today it is very difficult to find any gap in the market and hold on to it for any length of time. A gap in the market arises as a consequence of insufficient information about supply and demand. In essence, this phenomenon no longer exists. Trade is globalizing. Today, when a country begins to manufacture socks from its own raw materials, it is highly probable that an enterprise in another country (for example, an Asian one) will soon begin to import these raw materials and also start to manufacture socks and export them to the original country at a profit. Moreover, it is mainly certain Asian states that have chosen the path of "concentrating their efforts" mentioned by you. Thus, we come back to European conditions.

[Frydl] So far, the trend in Czech exports is satisfactory. However, opinions are being expressed that this is a temporary boom arising from the new opportunities for gaining access to Western markets. Apparently, the potential competition will not wait long, and the state will have to help our exporters more than at the moment.

[Dlouhy] The main conceptual support for our exports was—and, in a number of cases, still is—the koruna's exchange rate, undervalued against purchasing power parity. When we set its rate in 1990, we came in for a great deal of criticism. However, we said clearly that this is, first and foremost, a proxport measure. The aforementioned foreign visits are another deliberate policy in support of our exports.

[Frydl] In your opinion, is our proexport policy sufficient for the present and the future?

[Dlouhy] No. We are again turning to the issue of the growth we want to achieve. The capacity of the small Czech economy is greater than its domestic market. Therefore, growth cannot proceed other than by exports. The advantage of an undervalued exchange rate will last for some time yet, but it will gradually be reduced. Apart from this, in a number of cases, our exporters are unable to compete because they do not have at their disposal the financial, insurance, and other mechanisms needed to support exports, the kind of mechanisms their competitors have.

[Frydl] So, the money in the Export Guarantee and Insurance Company [EGAP] is not enough?

[Dlouhy] It is very little. EGAP should gradually transfer to self-financing. It is impossible for the state to keep subsidizing it from the budget because this would not be fair to the other taxpayers. Despite this, before its commencement, it requires a certain amount of funds, but, at the moment, this is not enough.

[Frydl] The issue of bankruptcies and your opinion that the state should initiate them has recently attracted a great deal of attention. The prime minister has come out

against this, and your initiative has not aroused much response in other quarters. What will happen now?

[Dlouhy] It is true that my stance was rather isolated within the debate on bankruptcies. Nevertheless, I really think that there are few bankruptcies, that they proceed slowly, and that this is not good for stimulating economic growth. It is easy to say that this is a mistake and that it is necessary to do something immediately. The law on bankruptcy and settlement has to be examined to see if there are hitches in it that prevent bankruptcies. We can draw a matrix for the banks and put their privatization funds in the rows and, perhaps, all of this economy's more important enterprises in the columns. By declaring an enterprise to be bankrupt, a bank declares its own property bankrupt. This is a fact that certainly does not contribute to the commencement of bankruptcies.

[Frydl] Finally, how did you spend Christmas and the New Year?

[Dlouhy] I was on vacation. I had promised myself that, sometime in the evening of 23 December, I would say: Good, now I am satisfied and will put my feet up on the table. This did not work out exactly because I had the flu. However, I spent New Year's Eve with my family.

Kovac Looks Back on First Independent Year

AU0701093194 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Jan 94 pp 1, 5

[New Year's Address delivered by President Michal Kovac in Bratislava on 1 January 1994]

[Text] Fellow citizens, from time immemorial the New Year has always been an opportunity for settling personal, family-related, and social problems. Since January 1993, the New Year has assumed a new importance to us, being the anniversary of the establishment of our state. This gives us an opportunity to reflect upon the first year of our lives in an independent state and, above all, to consider what our country needs and how we, all of us, can help our country. Our historical experience teaches us that our statehood is one of the most important guarantees of our national freedom and of our fully fledged national life, for which it is worth fighting and making the greatest sacrifices.

For a long time, we lived in the shadow of others more powerful. Many of us doubted whether we would be able to rule ourselves, whether our own statehood made any sense, whether it had a real value, and whether it was not an excessive luxury for Slovaks.

Many of us were afraid that our new state would not be internationaliy recognized. We were afraid that we would not be able to quickly build the state institutions needed for the existence of our independent republic.

Today, we can see that these catastrophic predictions have not come true. According to these predictions, Slovakia would have been unable to avoid certain catastrophes. However, we are not hiding the fact that the new situation demands certain sacrifices. The peaceful and civilized partition of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic has given us a good starting point for a promising future.

In a short time, the Slovak Republic has been recognized by most sovereign states, including all of the great powers. This testifies to the fact that the international community has fully respected the right of the Czech and the Slovak nations to establish their own states. This community has expressed trust in them and met them halfway.

We, in the interests of peace and security in Europe, have embraced cooperation with all democratic nations and countries. Our objective is to jointly establish political, cultural, and economic prosperity in Europe and the world. This is the way we want to proceed in the future. Our democratic Constitution is our fundamental guarantee of civil rights and freedoms, as declared and demanded by hundreds of thousands of people in November 1989. For the first time in our modern history, we have become the architects of our own destiny. We ourselves have decided to establish our own state, as the historical development required or even dictated. The existence of the Slovak Republic is an undisputable fact. Those who accepted its establishment with nostalgia should understand it and respect it. Certain situations are unique and do not repeat themselves. We have taken the opportunity offered to us by history. Our task is to build this state as a common state of all of its people, irrespective of their nationality or religious and political affiliations, and to secure democracy, freedom, and legal order, so that the law may prevail over willfulness and unscrupulousness, and responsibility over impunity and corruption. I call upon everyone to participate in that work. It is our right, our duty, and our common interest.

Our democracy must become a modern civic democracy in which the plurality of political parties, coexistence of the government and the opposition, and freedom for all must be secured. However, freedom means responsibility. We cannot tolerate freedom in the sense of an anarchic destruction of authorities and constitutional institutions, or the freedom to set various groups in society against one another. We will defend, as far as we can, our statehood, sovereignty, freedom, independence, and territorial integrity.

The quick completion of our central state organization and institutions, the establishment of our Army, and the introduction of a separate currency, which we did not have before our state was established, are very important for our present existence and our future.

I believe it is exceptionally important and encouraging that, now that the unified economic space we shared with the Czech Republic has been divided, the Slovak economy and currency have not collapsed. According to an international comparison giving the most important economic indicators, the Slovak Republic ranks second or third among the postcommunist countries. This should not be overestimated, but it certainly should not be belittled or ignored, either. I have been delighted that, apart from the newly established state institutions, hundreds of civic initiatives, associations, and nongovernmental organizations, usual in developed societies, have been registered in the first year. It is precisely in these organizations that civic activity should be concentrated and creative abilities provided by the democratic system utilized. Here we have opportunities to provide charity and assistance and express understanding and sympathy, which are features that give a human face to our society.

Despite all of the mistakes and serious problems, I can proudly say that independent Slovakia has withstood the test in the first year of its state sovereignty. I want to thank the government, parliament, all state and public officials, and mayors of the cities for all of this. I want to sincerely thank all of you, my fellow citizens, for the patience and understanding that you showed last year. You know quite well that we not only had to face our lack of political culture, but also to get rid of bad habits and ailments inherited from the totalitarian system. We have inherited an extremely inconvenient economic structure and devastating way of thinking and morale. I

appreciate that most of you have contributed to alleviating the difficulties and creating a gradual renewal of a peaceful and sensible life. My sincere thanks also go to all who are working without profit on the spiritual and moral revival of our society.

We are proud of our artists, scientists, sportsmen, producers of top-of-the-line products, and others who help to spread Slovakia's good reputation abroad.

Dear fellow citizens, if I have evaluated the first year of our state existence positively, it does not mean that I am satisfied with the results we have achieved. I am convinced that they could have been better in both the material and the spiritual spheres, especially with respect to the general social atmosphere and our life-style. We could have avoided various political feuds, unnecessary stress, and various scandals. All of this disappointed many people and caused them to stop trusting in politics and politicians and to lose drive and optimism.

I am saying with pain in my heart that I believe that many difficulties have been caused by our failure to mobilize and unify all of the political and nonpolitical forces in our society, with the objective of jointly solving our essential problems. We did not try to find out what our errors were but pointed to the errors of others. We did not try to find ourselves allies but preferred to discover adversaries and enemies to be blamed for everything. Fortunately, we do not have too many parties in parliament, which made it easier to join our political forces. However, we did not succeed in establishing a coalition that would be able to secure the necessary stability of the government, or, at least, productive cooperation between political entities.

It would be our tragedy if we thought that all of our important problems would be solved by capable and strong individuals. Today we know that a successful solution to our problems requires cooperation between dozens or hundreds of brains, if not thousands or hundreds of thousands. We need a government with a wider coalition that would mobilize the best brains of our society so as to solve its main problems and carry out its main tasks.

Personal animosities must not hamper the formation of such a government. People who have the necessary knowledge and ability to cooperate decently with their colleagues should be appointed to such a government. This is why I appeal to the leading representatives of the parliamentary parties, movements, their elected bodies, and ordinary members to seek the appropriate personalities from among their ranks. When carrying out this task, we must put Slovakia's interests before the interests of individuals, parties, and movements. A broad coalition government must be based on the results of the last elections, in which the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia won a majority.

It would be a very unfortunate situation if the parliamentary parties were based on one person and fell along with that person. Slovakia now needs political stability, conditions for peaceful and productive work, an atmosphere of tolerance, understanding, and goodwill. The key to solving our problems lies in cooperation among our parliamentary political parties and not in confrontation, in stretching our partnership and not in putting some people above others, in intensifying our mutual trust and respect and not in suspecting and accusing others, not in radicalization but in moderation and temperance. Our responsibility for Slovakia's destiny dictates that we should put an end to government-drafted makeshift solutions and improvisations and try, using all democratic and peaceful means, to establish political stability and a stable government that would also be trusted abroad. This is a condition for being able to focus on the uncompromising fight against unemployment and the growing crime rate, disorder, lack of discipline, and injustice. This is the basic prerequisite for improving our trustworthiness abroad and renewing the trust of people in our politics and the correctness of the road upon which we have embarked.

Dear fellow citizens, we are entering a year that the United Nations has declared to be the International Year of the Family. Even though our country is in a difficult situation, we must not allow the human, spiritual, and cultural level of families to decline. As head of state, I will demand that state bodies help to create a social climate that stimulates a peaceful and harmonious family life, the protection of children and elderly people, and the sound development of the younger generation. I will require that a state program be established to support young families, which would help satisfy at least their basic needs in housing and starting their new lives.

We are obliged to provide young families with a way out of today's unpleasant situation. No one except parents can assume the role of the mother or the father, however. This is why I appeal to you, dear parents: Give more love to your children and be a good example to them. It is in the interests of your sons and daughters, and also in your own.

It is very important to ask: What do we still lack for a humane, respectable, and happy life? Material welfare or humanity, mutual trust, love, respect, and other spiritual values?

I know that a decent human life requires adequate material conditions. This is why we are vehemently implementing economic transformation and trying to improve the output of our economy. Our efforts must not fade away.

I am convinced that we need more human values. A peaceful, balanced, and happy life is impossible without them. It will depend on ourselves how much effort we exert to secure material welfare and how much to secure spiritual and human education. The more we concentrate on doing our daily work well, the more we will help, indirectly, to create the material prerequisites for a decent human life.

We all have the opportunity to do good and contribute to a rapid improvement in the conditions of our lives. There are indeed people among us who need, for various reasons, the help of others. But the rest should not rely on someone else's help to improve their material and spiritual lives. Without their own diligence, it would be immoral to demand better material and spiritual conditions of life.

Doing good cannot be replaced by anything. We only have to want to do good. Please, my fellow citizens, try to reflect upon my words and let us try to change our daily lives. It is worth the pain!

Apart from democracy, mutuality, love, tolerance, and goodwill are the great riches in every society. Let us protect them and improve them.

Dear fellow citizens, at the very beginning of the New Year, it would be the most simple thing to wish you a happy New Year, better than the one preceding. However, I know that particularly in economic life there will be no essential reversal. Our situation is complicated but not desperate. We have many reasons to face the future with real optimism. Everyday we become more convinced that our people are highly educated, that we have capable scientists, comparable technological experience, and responsible and industrious people. We are quickly acquiring managerial and entrepreneurial skills and learning foreign languages. We have the opportunity to embrace international cooperation and experience. However, we lack sound self-confidence. I have to take this opportunity to address the churches, the cultural and educational institutions, the intelligentsia, the publishers, the mass media and the teachers, and to ask them to help as much as they can to create a sound basis for our future life, to strengthen political and civic stability, the mental health and harmonious life of the family. Only than will we be able to look calmly into the future. Building a state, the foundations of which we have already laid, is like building a home in which our family will live. If we have sound and prosperous families, our state, too, will be sound and prosperous. All that we do for the harmonious and sound development of our families will become our most precious contribution to a better and new future for all of us. So help us God.

In this spirit I greet you, fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters, who live dispersed all over the world, and wish you Happy New Year for 1994, good health, optimism, unity, and trust in yourself and your country.

Parties Respond to President's Coalition Call

AU0701093494 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Jan 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Cohesion: Path Toward Prosperity"]

[Text] Bratislava—"I appreciate President Michal Kovac's realistic view of the contemporary Slovak political scene and the Slovak Republic's present problems." This is how Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], reacted to the Slovak president's New Year address, which was broadcast on radio and television on Saturday [1 January]. Slovakia does indeed need a broad coalition, the KDH chairman continued, and our movement is ready to form such a coalition along with those parties or parts of parties whose programs are compatible with our program in the sense that at least a compromise is possible.

Other politicians, too, voiced their opinions on the contents of the Slovak president's New Year address.

"The idea of a broad coalition is not new. The Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] endorsed it before and after the elections. We have never claimed that we have five experts for every ministerial post [allusion to Prime Minister Meciar's statement] and that we could accomplish everything on our own," SDL Chairman Peter Weiss said. "The SDL was ready to cooperate, but the idea of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] was such that it would share not power but only responsibility for the execution of power. Saying 'join us' represents no platform for cooperation. A broad coalition is not possible with the HZDS as a whole, but only with that part of the HZDS that is willing and able to draw moral and political conclusions from the mistakes committed by the ruling movement," the SDL chairman added.

Milan Secansky (HZDS): "What I appreciated in the president's New Year address were his words about Slovakia's prosperity, which, as he stressed, can be achieved only through unity. I consider the unification of the politically fragmented forces in Slovakia the only way to achieve prosperity."

Vojtech Bugar (Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement): "The president realistically assessed the possibilities for the emergence of a broad coalition, which should stabilize the political situation in Slovakia. Current problems must not be brought to a head but tackled. I cannot help but agree with this view. And I can even agree with the view that, without the HZDS, it is impossible to form a broad coalition. However, I am convinced that it is possible to form such a coalition without Mr. Meciar."

Moravcik Pleased With 'Historic' Israel Visit

LD0601205594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 6 Jan 94

[Excerpt] A Slovak Government delegation led by Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Moravcik left Israel for Cyprus by air this morning. Here is our special correspondent Agata Stanekova reporting from Nicosia:

[Stanekova] Let us begin with the delegation's visit to Israel, which ended today. Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Moravcik, speaking to journalists aboard the plane today, said that pursuing a well-balanced policy in the entire region was an important issue for Slovakia. The visit was meant to send a clear signal, saying that the

Slovak Republic wants to continue the process of deepening relations with Israel in every sphere, and we understood the visit as the first stage in realizing this fundamental aim, Jozef Moravcik said.

During the flight to Cyprus, I also asked Slovak Minister of Economy Jan Ducky to assess the visit.

[Begin Ducky recording] I am convinced, and this view was shared by our Israeli partners, that this was a historic visit because at long last we were able to normalize relations between Israel and Slovakia. This fact is of great importance for entrepreneurs and bankers in both countries because at last we can start working on the basis of direct contacts without middlemen and third parties. This should be reflected in both the extent of our cooperation and its effectiveness.

I think the visit was very useful. Participating were not only members of the government delegation but also 15 entrepreneurs from almost all spheres of industry and a strong delegation representing the banking circles, led by National Bank of Slovakia Governor Masar. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Prague Meeting, Expectations Discussed

AU0701131494 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 6 Jan 94 p 1

[Article by Andrzej Jagodzinski and Edward Krzemien: "Visegrad in Vain?"]

[Text] It is already known that President Bill Clinton's Prague meeting with the heads of state of Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia is not going to be a Visegrad summit. It is mainly the Czechs who did not want the meeting to be granted such a status. The Poles and Hungarians are losing hope.

President Clinton will arrive for the Prague meeting straight from the NATO summit in Brussels. The only event to underline the regional nature of this meeting will be a two-hour working lunch on 12 January, attended by the five presidents.

"It was clear form the very outset that there would be four meetings with the U.S. President, independent of each other," said Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, who announced that the Czechs are accepting the U.S. "Partnership for Peace" proposal. He expressed surprise about speculation that the Czech Republic was opposing joint talks by the Visegrad heads of state with Clinton.

A high-ranking Foreign Ministry official even told me that the era of joint Visegrad action was over. The "Partnership for Peace" proposal calls for independent action, and that is why Prague finds it attractive.

Yesterday, Vaclav Klaus said that during Clinton's visit there would be bilateral talks by the Visegrad prime ministers, and after the U.S. guest's departure each of the three hosts would treat his opposite numbers to supper. The presidents will eat at the Hradschin, the prime ministers at the Liechtenstein Palace (seat of the government), and the foreign ministers at the Czernin Palace (seat of the Foreign Ministry). Care has been taken to exclude the risk of any joint stance being formulated.

The reaction from Warsaw has been unexpectedly calm. "We will not force our will on the rest," a senior Polish official told me. "Perhaps the Visegrad Group is not in Poland's interests." Only President Walesa's spokesman, Andrzej Drzycimski, has made any attempt to assuage anxieties, saying that consultations were being held both with the United States and the Czech Republic. In his opinion, the Belvedere is still doing all it can to prevent more than one speech on behalf of the Visegrad Group at the joint Prague lunch, instead of four separate speeches. Slovak President Michal Kovac said yesterday that on Tuesday, President Walesa had suggested to him and the other Visegrad presidents the submission to President Clinton of a joint proposal for Visegrad integration with NATO. Kovac agreed. The Hungarians as well. But the Czechs did not.

Yesterday, Vice Foreign Minister Andrzej Ananicz created the impression that he had no faith in a Visegrad-Clinton meeting. "One cannot imagine what a joint talk between five presidents would look like. As it is, each of them will have one hour in which to talk to the Americans," he said.

One of our interlocutors, talking about the three lunches to be held following Clinton's departure, said: "These might be the farewell lunches of Visegrad."

U.S. Delegation Arrives in Warsaw

LD0701094894 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0925 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Jan—At 1000 this morning a delegation of U.S. politicians and military personnel arrived in Warsaw. The delegation is led by Ambassador Ms. Madeleine Albright, President Bill Clinton's special envoy.

General John Shalikashvili, head of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, is among the members of the delegation.

The guests will be received by the president and the prime minister and by the foreign and defense ministers. Talks with defense ministers of the Visegrad Group, who are meeting in Warsaw, are also expected.

Walesa Laments West's 'Caution' on NATO

LD0501222994 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1749 GMT 5 Jan 94

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Jan—On Wednesday, President Lech Walesa accused the West of having its caution interpreted by Russia as a weakness, which virtually invites attempts to test its extent. In a statement for PAP on 5 January, the president also rejected the view, which is popular in the West, that Poland and other countries of the Visegrad group want to join NATO because they fear Russia.

Here is the full text of President Walesa's statement:

"A summit of NATO states is approaching. We will be watching it with particular attention and hope. It creates a chance that decisions made there will shape a new model of European security and contribute toward stimulating the rate of integration of the new continent. These have to be decisions which are considered but also bold. If the West avoids binding and forward-looking solutions, threats to European security will intensify. Idleness is a poor medicine against problems.

"Europe is wasting time. It is not making use of its historic opportunity. It is now four years since the 'Autumn of the Nations,' since the great breakthrough in the postwar history of Europe, which was started by the Polish in August. Bloodless revolutions brought freedom to the peoples of central Europe. The Berlin Wall fell. The Warsaw Pact ceased to exist. The imperial Soviet Union fell apart, while on the ruins of the totalitarian system the previously enslaved peoples could rebuild their sovereignty. In the East new, independent states came into existence and democratization processes

began. No more is there a confrontational system of opposing politico-military blocs which divided the continent and decided the shape of global politics.

"These are all victories of freedom and democracy. But they have not been utilized or cultivated. There has been no development or widening of security structures in Europe nor of economic structures. NATO and the European Community persist in the old shape and old habits, as if nothing significant has happened in east-central Europe, as if the collapse of communism changed nothing in the international configuration, as if the idea of the integration of the continent flagged as soon as it became possible to go over from words to deeds.

"Poland and other Visegrad Group states are applying for NATO and European Community membership—not merely in their own interests—because at stake is the prosperity of the whole of Europe, the gradual expansion of a stability and security zone on our continent. Our efforts are answered, for the time being, with vague promises. The West, however, should understand that by postponing the integration it is creating barriers for its own development and weakening its own security. He who stands still, moves backward. Meanwhile, the future is full of political, economic, migratory, and ecological challenges. You have to meet them half-way, broaden the scope for action, expand the possibilities.

"The view that the acceptance of new members to Western structures will weaken those structures is erroneous because it is shortsighted. It will be just the opposite: The final effect will be to strengthen these structures, and at the same a new stage in European integration will be opened. Legal standards, systemic norms, political culture, technological achievements must proceed across Europe from West to East, so that the zone of stability and prosperity can expand. This is the only recipe for a united and secure Europe. Other recipes, and especially egoistic idleness of the West, are leading to the East beginning to force its own solutions, which the West will not necessarily like.

"Life abhorrs a vacuum. It feels it spontaneously and this cannot be controlled. So let us not create a political and economic vacuum in the center of Europe, as it could turn out that its existence becomes a provocation for reestablishing the confrontational configuration from the past.

"I want to say clearly that we are not treating NATO and European Community membership as a panacea for our social and economic ills. We have no illusions of that kind. We also understand the need to begin adjustment activities and spread them in time. That is why we welcome with interest the U.S. Partnership for Peace initiative, with the reservation that the initiative, as a proposal for detailed and technical operations, should be preceded by the outlining of a specific vision of security in Europe.

"The West should not avoid outlining a vision of that kind and defining the role of NATO in the new international situation, as well as specifying political and military criteria for membership in the North Atlantic alliance, even if Russia opposes it.

"We understand the reasons why the West, and especially the United States, listens attentively to Russia's voice. We do not ignore it either, and we respect Russian concern for the integrity and nonconfrontational nature of the system of security in Europe. We are not so naive as to fail to understand that from the U.S. point of view the world looks somewhat different than it does from the Polish or even central European point of view. The United States is pursuing global policies and the Russian stake is one of the most important elements of those policies. Russia cannot fail to impress as a potential enemy, while at the same time giving rise to great hopes as a future—free-market and democratic—partner.

"We cannot, however, understand the conviction that is growing in the West, that an expansion of the stability zone in Europe, including decisive steps to expand NATO, would weaken democratic tendencies in Russia and strengthen imperial tendencies. I think that the demons which Zhirinovskiy personifies are growing in strength not because the West is pursuing a policy which is too active and too decisive but because it is not pursuing such a policy. Zhirinovskiy is indirectly a product of the West's idleness, the result of a lack of ideas, solutions, and visions. It is precisely because they are not there, or because they are unclear and unconvincing that Zhirinovskiy can spin his own terrifying visions, and the Russians are beginning to listen to him.

"The West wants to be cautious and does not want to bait the bear. Meanwhile, this caution is interpreted as weakness. From here it is but a step to a temptation to test its extent, to a policy of more or less refined extortion of more and more concessions.

"By the way, I would like to reject the view, which is popular in the West, that Poland and other Visegrad Group countries want to join NATO because they fear Russia. Poland is not afraid of Russia, neither in the sense of wanting to erect barriers against Russia, nor in the sense that Moscow could impose anything on or dictate anything to our homeland. We see Russia as a partner and expect partnerlike treatment. And it is in the new and mutually beneficial cooperation of Central Europe with Russia that we see one of the pillars of the European order.

"I believe that Russia, like the West, should think whether it perceives the issue of expanding NATO in the right perspective. Moscow believes that the acceptance of the Visegrad Group states to NATO will be a hostile step toward it, the step which isolates Russia with a cordon sanitaire. Maybe we should look at it differently—NATO would come closer to the Russian borders not as an anti-Russian alliance, but as a zone of stability. NATO was created as a defensive alliance against the

eastern bloc created by the USSR. There is no Soviet Union today, there is no Warsaw Pact. Could it be that Russia sees itself as a successor and a continuation of the USSR, since it perceives NATO as a structure unequivocally set against it?

"I profoundly hope that all these issues will be thoroughly analyzed at the NATO summit and that proper decisions will be made—decisions outlining a concrete shape of security and prosperity for Europe and not half-measure decisions mainly calculated for biding time. I express this hope not just as president of the Polish Republic but also as a resident of a Europe that has already wasted enough time. Let us remember that history will not give us the same opportunity twice."

Discusses 'Partnership,' EC Integration

LD0501132594 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1129 GMT 5 Jan 94

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Jan—President Lech Walesa told a PAP journalist on 5 January that in his opinion only the combining of the U.S. plan for a "Partnership for Peace" with his proposals to "extend" Europe, meaning a fast integration of former communist countries with the European Community, including NATO, would guarantee "security and allow to see the sense of our victories."

Asked whether at the meeting in Prague he would be demanding from Clinton guarantees for Poland, the president replied: "Generally speaking, there is no threat here. A threat may appear and today such guarantees are not necessary, but tomorrow, unless we take steps which I have proposed, such guarantees will be ineffective." The president emphasized that, unless some things happen "guarantees, even if granted to us, will not be possible to implement."

When asked whether he thought that exerting pressure on the West with regard to NATO membership by the entire Visegrad Group, rather than doing this as separate members, would not be more effective, the president replied: "We are saying more or less the same thing. The problem is that for the time being we cannot say this with one voice. It is a bit odd, but perhaps it is a postcommunist illness...."

Reasons for NATO Membership

LD0601185694 London BBC Television Network in English 2230 GMT 5 Jan 94

[Interview with Polish President Lech Walesa by correspondent David Cells in Warsaw on 5 January; from the BBC "Newsnight" program—recorded; in Polish with superimposed English translation]

[Text] [Cells] Why does Poland want to become a NATO member?

[Walesa] Because it wants to protect and defend Europe, seeing European snobbery—seeing that it has not learned any lessons from history. Today Poland is trying to save Europe from mistakes like the ones made in 1939. We must not allow dangerous situations to develop. There are moments which have to be taken advantage of and not left till tomorrow. We did that in 1939, and we all paid the price. This again is one of those moments when we must not do that. We have achieved great victories, and these must be transformed into structural realities—political and military, as well as economic.

[Cells] What do you mean by European snobbery?

[Walesa] Europe thinks only of itself, only about the present. It has no sense of perspective, and it hasn't learnt anything from history. That's all very well for today. Tomorrow we'll all pay a high price as Europeans. I've learned from the past and look at what is happening now. I don't want us to make the same mistakes all over again.

[Cells] President Yeltsin changed his mind about Polish entry into NATO last year. Why, do you think?

[Walesa] He sensed the West's indecisiveness and its snobbery. He saw its lack of vision, and that is why he feels able to set conditions. You can set conditions for the weak, not the strong. You can set them when there is no vision, no direction. Yeltsin saw this and has taken advantage of it.

[Cells] What about domestic influences, the results of the elections, the rise of Zhirinovskiy?

[Walesa] Oh, that proves me right. Demons emerge when a country has no vision or direction. Mr. Zhirinovskiy is just such a demon.

[Cells] What do you think is wrong with President Clinton's offer of a partnership for peace, the gradual development of contacts between Poland and NATO?

[Walesa] It's a good idea, but you have to combine it with what I'm talking about: ideas and a vision for the future, but with a possibility of true partnership. You cannot be a real partner without being a shareholder.

[Cells] Aren't you afraid of there being a Russian sphere of influence in the East, and an American one in the West?

[Walesa] It's going exactly that way. We're heading toward recreating that confrontational system. We want to get out of it. We don't want to wake up the old demons. The American proposals are all very well, but at the moment, they're just proposals.

Comments on Yeltsin, NATO

AU0701122394 Munich ARD Television Network in German 2130 GMT 6 Jan 94

[Report by Hardy Kuehnrich on an interview with Polish President Lech Walesa; place and date not given; Walesa speaks in Polish with superimposed German translation—recorded]

[Text] [Kuehnrich] These are Polish troops that belonged to the Warsaw Pact until a few years ago. The alliance is no longer in existence; and six months ago, the last Russian soldier left Poland. Now the Polish Army is preparing for NATO membership. Poland urgently wants to join, and the sooner the better. For the Polish people, the situation in their neighbor Russia is much too insecure. But the West hesitates. NATO membership is not within easy reach. On the eve of the NATO summit, Warsaw is being very clear.

[Walesa] By not letting us join NATO, the West is betraying and hurting itself. After the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union broke up, we thought that the West wanted a unified Europe, and real security. But all this is now being jeopardized by the West's position. This is why many people in our country feel much worse now than they used to In the past, we hoped that there would be a unified Europe and equal rules. In reality, nothing has happened. There is even a chance that the old forces could regain their strength. What have we achieved?

[Kuehnrich] Poland's NATO membership aspirations have been the number one topic in the country for weeks. Poland wants to be part of the West, part of Europe. The polemics in the media are getting sharper. The critical point being discussed is that the West makes allowances for Yeltsin. But Russia is a country that is not trusted in Poland. Experiences from the past have not been forgotten: Others determined the country's future. Poland once again feels like a buffer zone, and what is more, it feels that it is not being granted equal rights.

[Walesa] We are looking at things that the West can see as well, but is trying to overlook. But we will not allow Russia to make conditions for us to meet. Russia is setting conditions for NATO and the West. I get the impression that we no longer have to ask NATO or Clinton, but we should go and ask Yeltsin because he controls the West and NATO.

[Kuehnrich] How do you see Germany's position regarding Poland's wish to join NATO? Is it a clear position?

[Walesa] The Germans are in a difficult position. One has to understand this; and I understand the Germans. They still have the Russian Army on their territory. They also face problems related to unification and various other difficulties. Germany is watched by everybody, and one, therefore, should not be surprised about the hesitant attitude taken by the Germans. [end recording]

Reproaches are being directed toward the West, and worried looks go across the border into Russia. The fact is that the majority of Poles are in favor of a quick alliance with Western Europe and NATO.

Borowski Defends Left-Wing Image of Government

LD0501144094 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1905 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Jan—Deputy Prime Minister Marek Borowski defended on Tuesday [4 January] the left-wing image of the present government and the draft budget for the coming year against criticism from the participants of a conference organized by the Labor Union [UP] parliamentary floor group.

According to Borowski, the measures implemented by Waldemar Pawlak's government are proof of its left-wing nature. "The attitude to the issue of participation of the state in economic life is also a social-democratic element," the deputy prime minister said. He also emphasized that "a transition from a liberal to a left-wing government is not easy because this is the first such transformation attempt in any Central European country."

Borowski rejected the accusations, mainly from UP Chairman Ryszard Bugaj, that there is a continuation of the monetarist policy, and that he maintained a "small budget" and "the privatisation principle." "This budget slows down certain trends but does not overcome them; we have to continue the privatization process because the state cannot manage 6,000 companies," Borowski said.

The deputy prime minister also disagreed with Sejm Deputy Wieslawa Ziolkowska, who said that this year's budget does not bring Poland closer to the European Union [EU]. According to Borowski the situation is just the opposite because the budget is aimed at curbing inflation, which is one of the conditions for membership in the EU.

At the meeting Borowski listened to papers delivered by several dozen academics on social policy and economic issues.

Controversy Over Deputy Minister Appointments

LD0501234094 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1830 GMT 5 Jan 94

[From the "Wiadomosci" evening news bulletin; relayed by TV Polonia]

[Text] After a meeting of the leaders of the government coalition, Aleksander Kwasniewski said that Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak had stuck to his promise of introducing deputy ministers from the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] to the presidential ministries. The prime minister did not confirm this news. Minister of National Defense Piotr

Kolodziejczyk has declared that he will tender his resignation if the coalition introduces political deputy ministers into his ministry.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Maciej Sojka] A month ago, in the course of a meeting of the SLD Supreme Council, Aleksander Kwasniewski stated that he agreed with Waldemar Pawlak that each of the coalition parties would introduce one deputy minister into the ministries of foreign affairs, internal affairs, and national defense. Unofficially, it is known that the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has agreed to this, on condition that these will be people already working in his ministry. The minister of internal affairs also said, during a meeting with journalists of the GLOS SZCZECINSKI daily, that he is not surprised by such a proposal. On the other hand, the president protested strongly. Just a few days ago, SLD politicians stated that to avoid provoking a conflict with the Belweder Palace, Waldemar Pawlak will withdraw the nomination of the deputy ministers. In the view of Aleksander Kwasniewski, in the course of the meeting today Waldemar Pawlak stuck to the earlier decisions.

[Correspondent] Prime Minister Pawlak agreed?

[Kwasniewski] He did not have to agree, he agreed a long time ago, and we will be implementing this.

[Correspondent] So he again maintained this today?

[Kwasniewski] That is so. [end recording]

[Sojka] The head of the Ministry of National Defense has announced that he will not agree to the introduction of deputy ministers from the SLD and PSL, since, as he put it, the army does not need political commissars.

[Defense Minister Kolodziejczyk] I will be considering our moves, together with a possible tendering of my resignation.

[Correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, will you agree to the nomination of deputy ministers in the presidential ministries? Mr. Kwasniewski said that you agree. Is this true? [video shows Pawlak walking down corridor without answering]

[Sojka] Ewa Wachowicz, press secretary for the prime minister, affirmed that the issue of filling deputy ministerial posts in the presidential ministries is a marginal topic for the prime minister. [end recording]

ΩNew GUC President Ireneusz Sekula Profiled

94P20193A

[Editorial Report] The recent Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation appointment of Ireneusz Sekula to the presidency of the Main Customs Office (GUC) has resulted in a number of biographical reports, one of which appeared in the 26 December issue of WPROST. The Poznan weekly writes that GUC's former president, Mariusz Jakubowski, was replaced by "the politician and entrepreneur" Ireneusz Sekula, who is an advocate of lowering customs duties in order to make smuggling less attractive and thus increase customs revenues.

WPROST also reports that the 50-year-old Sekula completed his studies for a master's degree in psychology in 1965 at the University of Warsaw, where he later earned a doctorate in political science. Following a stint with the Polish Scout Union (ZHP), he began his professional career in state administration, working for the Ministry of Industrial Machinery and the Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Service Affairs. From 1983 to 1988, he was president of the Social Security Agency (ZUS). Sekula was minister of labor and social policies in Zbigniew Messner's government (mid-198O's) and served as deputy premier in Mieczyslaw Rakowski's government (the last communist government, which preceded the Mazowiecki government of 1989). From 1966 to 1990, Sekula was a member of the ruling communist party, the Polish United Workers Party, and currently belongs to Social Democracy of the Polish Republic (SdRP), where he serves on the Executive Council. Sekula has been a deputy in the last three Sejms: the last Sejm that included communists, elected in 1989, and the Sejms elected in 1991 and 1993—in the latter two representing the Democratic Left Alliance, of which the SdRP is a leading partner.

Deputies Vote To Suspend Extraordinary Session

AU0401125794 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Today, after almost four hours of consultations among the members of the Chamber of Deputies Standing Bureau and the leaders of the parliamentary factions, the Chamber of Deputies met in session a short while ago and decided, by 155 votes to 89, with 13 abstentions, to suspend the extraordinary session begun yesterday at the request of 118 opposition deputies, our correspondent Ioan David reports. The suspension remains valid until the Constitutional Court reaches a decision regarding the way in which the chamber passed the draft bill empowering the executive to rule by ordinances and contract and guarantee foreign loans [during the parliamentary recess].

Also today, at the request of the chamber's Standing Bureau, the Chamber of Deputies decided, by 167 votes to 3, with 84 abstentions, to summon an extraordinary session over 4-13 January. Among the draft bills scheduled to be discussed during that extraordinary session we would like to mention the ordinances issued by the government that have not yet been passed by parliament, the draft bill on the setting up and functioning of the Romanian radio broadcasting company and the Romanian television company, the draft bill on Romania's national defense, the draft bill on the extension of the housing contracts concluded between the state-owned housing companies and private tenants, the draft bill on the setting up of the public corporation for irrigation, and the draft bill on the value of real estate and the stock exchange. The session is currently still in progress.

The Senate's special standing committees are in session today. Our correspondent Victor Spirache has reported that tomorrow at 1400 the Senate Standing Bureau is to hold a meeting to examine whether it is necessary to summon an extraordinary session of that parliamentary chamber as well.

Group Accuses Iliescu of History 'Falsification'

AU0601180894 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 6 Jan 94

[Text] The press bureau of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] has sent us an information bulletin containing a communique that outlines the issues discussed during the meeting of the UDMR Executive Presidium that took place on 4 January in Cluj-Napoca. Among other things, the document says that they discussed ways in which the economic interests of the Hungarian ethnic minority could be protected and agreed to elaborate the rules according to which the UDMR's economic council is to function. To avoid ethnic discrimination within the privatization process of the state property, it was assessed that a first step would be seeing to it that experts of that ethnic minority are also represented among the dignitaries of the State Property Fund who are to be appointed by the government.

The UDMR Executive Presidium also discussed the agenda of the conference that is to be held with the chairmen of the UDMR county branches on 8 January in Miercurea Ciuc, as well as a report on the preparations made in view of the conference that will concentrate on the issue of self-government, scheduled to take place on 15 January in Odorheiul Secuiesc.

Learning about President Ion Iliescu's assessments of the 1989 events in Romania and the ethnic conflict that took place in March 1990 in Tirgu Mures—which were published in the [Iliescu's] memoirs—the UDMR Executive Presidium considers them unacceptable, as they represent the falsification of history owing to political considerations. The need to establish the historic truth compels the UDMR Executive Presidium to urgently publish the critique based on sound arguments of that booklet [brosura], the communique released by the UDMR press bureau says, adding in conclusion that the presidium has sent a telegram saluting the conference on the self-government of the ethnic Hungarians living in Slovakia, scheduled for 8 January in Komarno. The presidium considers that event as an important step made in the spirit of current European processes, and not merely in view of the maintenance of the national identity of the Hungarian community living in Slovakia, but also that of all other Hungarian communities with a minority status.

CDR Statement Calls For 'New Political Pact'

AU0401201794 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 31 Dec 93 p 3

[Text of "Declaration Issued by the Democratic Convention of Romania"; date not given]

[Text] The end of the year is always an opportunity to take stock. The Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] notes with concern that the inventory of the exercise of power by the current coalition of political forces does not acknowledge the alarm signals being more and more clearly emitted by Romanian society.

The economic crisis and the social crisis experienced by Romania thus turn into the nation's serious crisis of confidence in the political forces, which have assumed the responsibility to rule the country. The immobilism and uncertainty that those in power enjoy, the absence of a firm political desire for change, as well as voluntarism and arrogance do not offer tangible answers to the growing desperation of our citizens regarding the serious economic imbalance and the increasing and futile sacrifices, which an incompetent government has been perpetuating for more than a year now.

Instead of protecting the standard of living and the security of citizens, those in power protect corruption and stagnation. Instead of making efforts to bring about

change and structural reform that might put an end to our crisis, and instead of promoting truth, the executive power perpetuates confusion and stagnation that permit the preservation of the privileges of a petty and greedy political clientele. No generous project, no disinterested thoughts, and no respect for the interests of the citizen and for the sovereign interests of the nation inspires the policy of the current holders of the essential levers of our country's political activity.

The CDR has done everything in its power to change this tense situation. It has always promoted a policy of supporting a firm policy of reform and has effectively supported all correct legal initiatives—unfortunately too few so far. It has consistently and responsibly assumed the basic political task characteristic of any opposition, namely to criticize the errors made by the executive power. Through constitutional means at its disposal, it has drawn attention to the growing mistrust of citizens in the policy promoted by the coalition forces, which ensured the PDSR's [Social Democracy Party of Romania] majority in Parliament, and in the way in which the PDSR government has fulfilled its mandate. On several occasions, it proposed a program of stopping the crisis and it has shown its readiness for any dialogue that would have permitted the fulfillment of this program and the halting of the dramatic deterioration of the citizens' standard of living.

The systematic rejection of these arguments, the demagogic and arrogant answer by the majority coalition, which did not heed these signals and continued verbal maneuvers and back-stage moves instead of firmly implementing at least its own reform program, have taken our country to a serious crisis of political confidence.

It is clear for anyone that one cannot govern correctly with a majority of 13 votes in parliament and a proportion of confidence, without any precedent in the past four years. The PDSR is trying to persuade us that these are inevitable effects of any reform policy; it is obvious, however, for anyone that, on the contrary, these are the effects of lack of will to promote the reform process. Our citizens realize very well that stagnation and the absence of a consistent strategy for change generate a chaotic and uncontrollable development of the inflation and an unprecedented impoverishing of the majority of the population, and they realize that the government imposes useless sacrifices on the country; the electorate realizes very well that the government's lack of prospects takes all of us down a blind lane from which it will be more and more difficult to emerge.

Within this context, the CDR calls on the entire nation not to lose hope. There are still a lot of competent people and generous ideas to put an end to this crisis. These latent forces have to become the essential vector of our political activity. Through our joint will, let us make the PDSR renounce the bankrupt policy that it continues to promote, and to adopt a new policy able to stir and involve all those who are waiting for a new wave in our country. We are calling on all responsible political formations, all trade unions and civic associations, and the entire Romanian society to rally around the CDR in order to impose a new political pact on those in power; a pact that will rally all forces favoring change and that will keep away reactionary, extremist, and antireform forces from the executive power; a pact that will ensure the responsible promotion of a clear-cut, generous, and intelligent strategy for coming out of this crisis; and a pact that will put an end to misery, poverty, corruption, and lies. Let us turn 1994 into the first year of a prosperous, powerful, and dignified Romania!

[Signed] Emil Constantinescu, CDR president

Commission Head Reviews Economic Performance

AU0501153594 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 30-31 Dec 93 p 2

[Interview with Alexandru Radocea, president of the National Statistics Commission, by Ion Pavelescu; place and date not given: "Romania's Economy Has Already Embarked on the Road of Being Relaunched"]

[Text] Not long ago, the German daily FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG known for its—mildly put—hardly favorable position toward Romania and the commentaries by Viktor Meier, who never missed an opportunity to attack us, amazed its readers with the statement that, among the eastern countries, our state has genuine possibilities to recover economically and that this is already noticeable. Surprised, not to use a stronger word, by this assessment, we approached Mr. Alexandru Radocea, president of the National Statistics Commission, asking him to comment on the article published by the aforementioned daily and to review, in general terms, the year that has almost come to an end.

I accept your invitation with pleasure, he said, especially since, now that the Cassandras have multiplied, DIMINEATA is among the few newspapers trying to inform its readers correctly by abiding by the truth, which is not all that black as some people, who are interested in an end-of-the-world atmosphere, describe it.

[Pavelescu] Mr. Radocea, what is the situation of our economy? Is the economy the beginning and the end of everything?

[Radocea] It would be premature to talk about abundance in our country. Certainly, however, the main commitment assumed by the Vacaroiu government when it was invested—namely to halt the decline of the production—has been fulfilled. Here are figures to prove this. Throughout the 11 months that have elapsed in 1993, industrial production increased 0.4 percent, in comparable prices, compared with the same period last year. In agriculture, despite the unfavorable conditions that affected four counties in the southern part of our country—one of our bread baskets—where not a drop of rain fell for months on end, this recovery process can be clearly noted because the volume of grain production is

11 percent higher than in 1992, and the animal breeding sector also shows signs of recovery.

[Pavelescu] Mr. Radocea, which industrial branches have made the balance tip toward a positive direction?

[Radocea] These are the weighty and prevalently modern branches. They include such branches as chemistry, certain machine- building and mining branches, and the furniture industry. As a conclusion that exceeds the competence of the statistician but which should not be omitted, we have to mention that the new economic mechanism has begun to function and that branches and units recording positive results do so because of the judicious blend between mature personnel and the dynamism of young specialists.

[Pavelescu] There still are, however, areas in which stagnation persists and in which things do not develop with the necessary vigor....

[Radocea] That is correct. Metallurgy, the garment industry, and the food industry, as well as the tobacco processing industry, are not moving at all. There would be explanations, but this is not the right time to dwell on them.

[Pavelescu] For this reason, for the time being, we have a trade balance deficit in the sense that we import more than we export.

[Radocea] This is a fact that we cannot ignore. But even in this respect, one can note signs of recovery, albeit modest ones.

[Pavelescu] What is the employment situation of our labor force?

[Radocea] Unemployment continues to grow. The current unemployment rate is approximately 9.9 percent of the active labor force. A comparison with the countries surrounding us or with more distant ones could render false projections. We have a smaller number of unemployed than Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and even France. But can anyone be at peace when more than a million people have no jobs?

[Pavelescu] In this context, would it seem ill-timed to ask you about the standard of living?

[Radocea] Not in the least. The incomes of the population have considerably increased. And conditions exist that in December they may be even higher.

[Pavelescu] A key question: How will 1994 start off?

[Radocea] I am convinced that conditions are in place for next year to mark the much-awaited relaunching of the economy. The economic mechanism based on market laws has been broken in and has been perfected. Numerous branches, including metallurgy, have come up with promising anticrisis programs. The contracts that have been concluded, including exports, seem to be encouraging. Agriculture will unmistakably progress. In the area of utilizing the labor force, the indicators will improve along with the relaunching of the construction activity in the spring. I believe that we have embarked on the right road.

And since from the very beginning I talked to you about my friendly feelings toward the paper for which you work, permit me to conclude in the same vein by using this opportunity to convey wishes for good health and work energy to the editorial team, and best wishes for your readers in 1994, together with the traditional Romanian wish of "Many Happy Returns!"

Serb Official: Latest Muslim Demands Fulfilled

LD0601181094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1657 GMT 6 Jan 94

[Text] Jagodina, 6 Jan (TANJUG)—Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the assembly of the republic of Srpska, stated for Jagodina Radio this evening that in talks in Belgrade yesterday between Slobodan Milosevic, international mediators Owen and Stoltenberg, and representatives of the republic of Srpska, an agreement was reached that enables the peace process to be brought to an end on 18 January in Geneva.

By this, conditions have been created for lifting the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Krajisnik said.

"The Serb side yesterday confirmed its readiness for Muslims to be given 33.3 percent of former Bosnia-Herzegovina territory, and accepted a proposal that in the next two years the province of Sarajevo, including its nine municipalities, be administered by the United Nations, during which time a final solution for Sarajevo will be found."

"The third thing that we discussed yesterday was our demand for access to the sea in the area of Molunat and Prevlaka. The last demand by the European Union and the Muslims has been fulfilled by our acceptance of the percentage of territory to be given to the Muslims and of the status of Sarajevo; therefore there is no reason not to abolish the sanctions against the Serb people," Krajisnik said.

If the negotiations on 18 January in Geneva do not yield result, it will be clear that the Muslim side is to blame, Momcilo Krajisnik said.

Cot Cited on Rapid Deployment Force, Briquemont

AU0601174794 Paris AFP in English 1701 GMT 6 Jan 94

[Excerpt] Zagreb, Jan 6 (AFP)—General Jean Cot, commander of the UN Protection Force in former Yugoslavia, criticised Thursday the lack of "useful dialogue" between United Nations policy-makers and armed forces on the ground.

Deploring the insufficiency of UNPROFOR resources, the general called for the creation of a "rapid reaction force" as the solution to the crisis in former Yugoslavia and spoke out against what earlier this month he described as the "humiliations" inflicted on UN personnel in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

His comments echoed criticisms by Geneva peace mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg in Budapest of the "abyss between (UN) political ambitions and reality" in former Yugoslavia, in which the UN passed resolutions promising to send peacekeepers to former Yugoslavia but failed to provide the necessary funding.

"If they (UN officials in New York) consulted responsible military leaders more systematically, maybe we could set up a useful dialogue," Cot told Croatian media. Even this would not be enough because of the "inertia of the system," he said.

The solution, in the French general's view, was the creation of a "rapid reaction force that we could send into the field within a few hours or a few days...in regions of potential crisis."

Cot again protested at what on January 1 he described as the "constant humiliation" of UN personnel in former Yugoslavia, notably Bosnia-Herzegovina. The UN forces were drawn from "armies which have a certain sense of dignity, so that you can't deal with them in the field in any old way," he said.

He stressed that the UNPROFOR mandate in Bosnia was purely humanitarian: "We have no mandate for interposing ourselves between the combatants. Our means are already insufficient for distributing humanitarian aid, and we must not disperse our efforts in other missions, except in the safe areas," he said.

Cot commended the outgoing commander of UNPROFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Belgian General Francis Briquemont, who on Wednesday [5 January] said he was leaving his job earlier than expected because he was exhausted by the conflict. Briquement had "given so much, it was difficult to give more, and when you give so much you wear yourself out a little," Cot said. "I understand and respect his decision to take up the command in his own army that he left to come here. Let people not look for reasons.... which are totally false," he said, in reference to reports that Briquement had been recalled by Brussels following his outspoken criticisms of UN impotence in the Bosnian conflict. [passage omitted]

Muslims Allow 250 Serbs To Leave Zenica

LD0601184594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1713 GMT 6 Jan 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Srbobran, Jan 6 (TANJUG)—The Moslem authorities Thursday allowed the departure of 250 Serb civilians from Zenica in the central part of war-ravaged Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bosnian Serb military sources in Srbobran (former Donji Vakuf) reported. The Serb civilians reached the territory of the Bosnian serb republic (RS) sometime in the afternoon. The RS authorities in cooperation with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) will take charge of them.

RS government representative Branko Djokic who took part in the talks with the Moslems arranging for the Serbs' departure from Zenica said after the talks that the Moslems had expressed readiness to allow some 1,300 Serbs leaving Vitez, Novi Travnik and other central Bosnian cities under Bosnian Croat control to pass over

their territory. The possibility of a meeting of representatives of all three warring sides in connection with this was also mentioned.

A civil, ethnic and religious war has been raging in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina since April 1992 between the local Moslems, Serbs (Orthodox) and Croats (Catholic) in response to the Moslem leadership's efforts to turn Bosnia into a Moslem-dominated unitary state.

Aid for Muslims Passes Through Serb Territory

LD0601203494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1939 GMT 6 Jan 94

[Text] Zvornik, Jan 6 (TANJUG)—More than 30 vehicles with 256 tonnes of humanitarian aid headed for the Moslem enclaves in war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina and parts of Sarajevo under Moslem control freely passed Thursday through the territory of the Bosnian Serb Republic (RS).

According to Bosnian Serb military sources in Zvornik, on the border with Yugoslavia where the cargo controls are made, 13 trucks of the UN High Commisioner for Refugees (UNHCR) have taken 72 tonnes of flour to Tuzla, north-east Bosnia-Herzegovina. The International Committee of the Red Cross has taken 61 tonnes of flour and 35 tonnes of family food parcels to the same city.

Srebrenica, the Moslem enclave in eastern Bosnia, has received 78 tonnes of flour and 10 tonnes of heating oil, and 10 tonnes of heating oil have been sent to the medical center in Zvornik.

The international humanitarian organisation Duga from Skopje has sent three trailers with food and medicine to be distributed to both the Moslem and Serb-controlled parts of Sarajevo.

The delivery of humanitarian aid to the civilian population in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been hindered for months due to fierce Moslem-Croat fighting in the central and southern parts of the republic in which a war between local Serbs, Croats and Moslems has been raging since April 1992. During all this time the only safe way for the convoys is through the territory under Bosnian Serb control.

UN Warns of Starvation in Central Bosnia

AU0601204194 Paris AFP in English 2015 GMT 6 Jan 94

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Jan 6 (AFP)—The threat of starvation looms over Bosnian Moslems in central Bosnia, UN officials warned Thursday as fierce fighting in Sarajevo killed at least seven people, wounded more than 50 others and shut the capital's airport.

UN military observers (UNMOs) had reported a critical food situation in some 50 villages in the Kakanj region, where the civilian population faced starvation, said UN Protection Force spokesman Major Idesbald van Biesebroeck. "UNMOs haven't seen anybody who died of starvation yet but it will not take long any more before that will happen," he said. "In the village of Ricica, some children are close to starvation," he added.

Croat and Serb forces were largely to blame for delays to aid supplies, he said. But he also hit out at the local councils' food distribution policies, notably in Kakanj, where priority was given to soldiers, families of soldiers killed in combat, wounded soldiers and local politicians, with the most deprived people helped last.

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees civil affairs spokesman, Larry Hollingworth, confirmed the report: "Without a shadow of doubt the situation is desperate."

In December the UNHCR was able to deliver only 17.9 percent of the region's food requirements, he said. Hollingworth said he had no direct proof aid was being confiscated by troops from all three armies, but added: "(With) no other aid coming (in) and soldiers looking healthy, what can one conclude?"

In Sarajevo, an artillery battle and ground fighting erupted as the Moslem-dominated Bosnian army and Serb units resumed their struggle for the Serb-held Grbavica district. Government forces recently won territory in Grbavica from the Serbs holding the area located along the Miljacka river, a foreign military expert said.

Two civilians were decapitated by shell fragments in separate incidents and two other people, including a Bosnian soldier, were killed in the fighting, said doctors at the city's two functioning hospitals. Some 42 people were reported wounded, including a two-month old baby. [passage omitted]

Sarajevo airport reopened briefly early Thursday but was closed again almost immediately due to the fighting and no flights were able to land. Aid flights were suspended late Wednesday after a rocket hit the runway. [passage omitted]

Foreign ministers from the Organisation of the Islamic Conference are to meet Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic in Geneva on January 17, the eve of the resumption of peace talks on Bosnia, blocked over Moslem demands for more land.

Possibility of Tesanje Area Breaking Away Noted

AU0701121594 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 31 Dec 93-2 Jan 94 p 6

[Marko Caric article: "Is Tesanj Following in Abdic's Footsteps?"]

[Text] What is happening within the political and military Muslim structures in the Tesanj area? According to reliable information, it seems that the war option chosen by Alija Izetbegovic has no support among the Muslim

population in that part of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We have learned from reliable sources that the Center of Security Services has done an analysis of the political and military situation in the area, concluding that the process of making Tesanj independent following the model of west Bosnia and Velika Kladusa is under way. The analysis, made by Semsudin Mehmedovic, coordinator of the Center of Security Services, has warned the authorities in Sarajevo that the appearance of "a new Fikret Abdic" was possible in the Tesanj area. Semsudin Mehmedovic and his Security Service, naturally, blame the Croats for this process. However, things are much simpler.

Namely, the War Presidency of the Municipal Assembly of Tesanj refused to carry out the order of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency concerning the unconditional placing of all HVO [Croatian Defense Council] units active in the areas controlled by Muslim political and military forces under the command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. The War Presidency of the Tesanj commune issued the following statement:

"On the territory of Usora and Tesanj the Croats and Muslims have fought against the same enemy since the beginning of the war. The result of this fighting is fully defended territory. So far there have been no conflicts between our two peoples. The Presidency believes that these relations should remain the same in the future, since that is the only guarantee and token for the survival of both peoples in this area.... The civilian and military bodies, as well as members of both peoples consider the implementation of the decision of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency pointless. Any attempt to implement this decision by force would result in conflict with incalculable consequences for the population, and probably in the loss of the free territory, which has been defended at the cost of a great number of lives. With all due respect for the importance and possible consequences of the decision of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, the War Presidency of the Tesanj commune has decided not to implement the decision on this territory..."

Therefore, the matter simply concerns the fact that the political leadership of the Tesanj commune believes that the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army troops should continue to work together, but that an integration of the HVO in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army would be politically and militarily inopportune.

In the analysis made by the Center of Security Services and signed by Semsudin Mehmedovic, this decision of the War Presidency is being interpreted as a subversive activity—carried out primarily by the Croats, but also by some military and political structures of the so-called Serb republic. Mehmedovic does not substantiate such statements in the analysis, but instead merely provides a catalogue of accusations.

Ekrem Ajanovic, regional representative in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly, also joined the action of disrupting the unity of the Muslims and Croats in the Tesanj area and the surrounding territory. On the basis of the alleged approval of Alija Izetbegovic, he formed a committee for negotiations between the Muslims, Croats, and Serbs, but this committee submitted to the Center of Security Services a list of Croats to be arrested, and if this was not possible, killed. They were HVO representatives who, from October to December, participated in political negotiations between Muslims, Croats, and Serbs in this area. The result of all this is the absurd situation in which the Tesanj area is being defended by joint forces of the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, while they are continuously being attacked by Bosnia-Herzegovina Army units that want to implement Alija Izetbegovic's fundamentalist policies. All efforts to create disunity between the Muslims and Croats living in the Tesanj area have, fortunately, been unsuccessful. Evidently there is an increasing number of Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina who realize how damaging Alija Izetbegovic's policies are, and who want to do everything to end the war as soon as possible, along with the Croats, and continue to live in peace and understanding.

Five UN French Peacekeepers Wounded

AU0601184494 Paris AFP in English 1813 GMT 6 Jan 94

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Jan 6 (AFP)—Five French soldiers in the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) were wounded on Thursday at Sarajevo airport, UNPROFOR Guy de Battista said here.

Two non-commissioned officers were seriously hurt, and underwent emergency operations but they would survive, and would be evacuated to France Friday, de Battista said. [passage omitted]

French forces have lost 18 killed and more than 260 wounded, a third of them seriously, since the UN intervention began in April 1992. Half of the casualties have been caused by fighting. [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic Units Reportedly Defect to Abdic

LD0601155294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1358 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Bihac, 6 Jan (TANJUG)—According to the Muslim controlled media, inter-Muslim clashes are continuing in Cazinska Krajina. The same sources claim that armed clashes are taking place along the entire demarcation line and, in particular, near Trsce and Trzacki Rasteli, but they do not mention losses.

According to the western Bosnia news agency ZBIA, the 503d and 517th Cazin brigades [loyal to Izetbegovic] are in disarray after a large number of their officers and command personnel joined the army of the autonomous province of western Bosnia. This was confirmed by Nevzad Djeric, commander of the 503d Cazin brigade, who has also joined the ranks of Abdic's army.

According to the same source, about 1,000 people from Pecigrad, the largest residential area of Cazin, have moved to Velika Kladusa to join Fikret Abdic and flee the terror committed by the extremists in the 5th Corps of the so-called Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its commander, Atif Dudakovic.

Muslim-controlled Bihac radio has named Bozdar Sicel, deputy chairman of the assembly of the autonomous province of Western Bosnia, as being most responsible for recruiting the 503d and 517th Brigades for Abdic's army and for persuading the large section of Pecigrad population to change sides.

Bihac radio also reported that clashes continue in Bihac between Muslims and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] under the command of Major General Vlado Santic, as do clashes between the HVO and the Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ] headed by Dr. Ante Santic, Vlado's brother. According to Bihac radio, there are dead and wounded on both sides, but neither side has so far reported any casualties.

TANJUG Reports on Muslim Attacks

LD0601153394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1450 GMT 6 Jan 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Sarajevo, Jan 6 (TANJUG)—One woman was killed and six civilians were injured in fierce Muslim attacks on the Serb part of New Sarajevo, Serb military sources reported Thursday. The Muslim attacks started [word indistinct] 22:00 hours (local time) Wednesday but stopped after about two hours when the Serb side returned fire. They were resumed early in the morning Thursday.

The Serb side lodged a complaint with the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] Command asking for the attacks to be halted fault of which it would answer back with all means of arms at its disposal.

Muslim artillery and infantry attacks were reported in north Bosnia in the Maglaj region and an attempt of a Muslim sabotage group to infiltrate into Serb territory was thwarted in the Doboj front.

Serb military sources report that in the region of Srbobran (formerly Donji Vakuf), central Bosnia, Muslims are attacking Serb positions and concentrating their forces which could mean that they are getting ready for more heavy fighting. In (?the night) of Wednesday/Thursday the Muslims also mounted attacks from the Gorazde enclave, eastern Bosnia, on Serb defence positions around Foca and Cajnice.

Along the Sava river (north Bosnia) the Croat forces renewed artillery attacks last night firing 30 grenades on Serb positions. The attack stopped when the Serb fighters returned fire.

In the Mostar valley, south-west Bosnia, fierce fighting continues between Croats and Muslims, erstwhile allies against the Serbs. Both sides use all means of weapons at their disposal in the combats in Mostar and its surroundings, including artillery and tanks, acording to Serb military sources.

Sarajevo Radio Rounds Up Fighting

AU0701101694

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 on 7 January carries in its regular 14-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the Republic. Reception is fair to poor.

The studio announcer introduces the block of fighting reports with a warning to the citizens of Sarajevo "to observe strictly all the measures in line with the general alarm, as the chetniks have been shelling the city heavily since early morning."

Reporting from Olovo, Velid Djindo says that "last night was marked by loud explosions of shells fired from the heavy artillery of the [Serbs and Croatian Defense Council—HVO] occupying forces. Olovo was fiercely shelled just after midnight, but fortunately that attack as well as the bestial ones this morning passed without human casualties."

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 3d Corps reports that "following the report by Croatia Radio Television about the fighters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army having massacred 74 civilians in Krizancevo Selo, the members of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] British Battalion yesterday visited this area. In front of the BBC and Reuter cameras, everyone could see that the graves contained bodies, not massacred, of the HVO fighters killed in the latest Ustasha offensive on the Vitez front."

In his report from Brcko, Hamiz Deronjic says that "it was a very dramatic night. The Serb aggressor shelled the defense positions heavily, also activated his sabotage groups, and used his aircraft intensively for the transportation of men and equipment. At about 2100 last night, an enemy reconnaissance-sabotage group tried to break through our lines in Lipovac. The defenders responded quickly, however, and forced the enemy saboteurs to pull back. This was followed by barrages of 82-mm and 120-mm mortars fired from enemy positions." He says that "last night was one of the busiest ones along the air corridor. In groups of two and three the enemy transport helicopters kept flying back and forth from (Razljevo) to Pelagicevo between 1800 and 2200. At about 2200 one enemy aircraft turned from the usual Bijeljina-Brcko-Pelagicevo direction and flew from Lopari to Srebrenik. According to further information, the aggressor's helicopter then headed toward Maglaj."

Describing the situation in Maglaj, Hajrudin Sermic says that "yesterday evening was extremely hard for the citizens of the town. Maglaj was exposed to pounding by the heaviest artillery and tanks, while the drunk chetniks

helped along by [HVO commander] Lozancic's fighters fired dum-dum and incendiary ammunition from antiaircraft machine guns and guns." He says that "last night the chetniks again made fools of the Security Council and NATO. One of the aggressor's helicopters infiltrated the group of transport planes airdropping aid to the population and carried out its combat mission unhindered."

Izudin Durakovic reports from the Gracanica front that "all night the chetnik forces fired at the defense lines and residential areas in the zone of responsibility of the Gracanica Operative Group. On the Doboj front, the chetniks from Lipac and Radici used 82-mm and 120-mm mortars against (Sanicvisi) and Klopotnica, while from (Prenja) they fired with a 155-mm howitzer at Velika Brijesnica." He says that "since 0400 this morning the chetniks have been pounding the defense lines on the Gracanica front." During the night, he adds, "the aggressor carried out an intensive regrouping of his forces. Three truckloads of men arrived in (Palezica) from Doboj and another four in Stipovac. Their helicopters were also flying along the Bosansko Petrovo Selo-(Kagmus)-(Boljenic) route, and along the (Hrtova)-Rosulje-Vijenac route."

Tudjman Receives Albright, Calls For Peace

LD0601230294 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 6 Jan 94

[Text] From the office of the president of Republic we have just received a report that Franjo Tudjman received U.S. Ambassador Madeleine Albright, accompanied by U.S. Ambassador to Croatia Peter Galbraith and John Shattuck, assistant secretary for human rights and humanitarian affairs. Expressing his satisfaction with the high-ranking guest's visit, President Tudjman said that the development of relations between the United States and Croatia was positive and stressed that democratic Croatia had been doing its best since its very beginning to forge as close as possible links with the United States, not only because of the 2 million Croatians living there but because U.S. democracy is an exemplary model for young democracies such as Croatia's.

Speaking about the situation in the UNPA [UN protected areas] and the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Tudjman reiterated Croatia's stands regarding a peaceful solution to the crisis in these areas. In this context he stressed that there would be a positive effect if the UN Security Council lent its firm support for the draft solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina proposed within the framework of the conference on the former Yugoslavia. He also pointed out that concordance [suglasnost] among the EU [European Union], United States, and United Nations was a serious precondition for efficiency and a quick end to the war in this area. The president also said that Croatia—in keeping with its general democratic development and seeking solutions for the UNPA and Bosnia-Herzegovina—was determined to protect human rights on a lasting basis. It will nevertheless bring those who threaten this development to account.

President Tudjman also expressed his deep gratitude to Mrs. Albright for her visit to Vukovar. Speaking about the horror she had seen in Vukovar in the heart of Europe, the ambassador said that the United States would do everything to punish the perpetrators. She also presented U.S. views on solving the situation in the UNPA. In this context she stressed that the United States supported the implementation of Resolution 871. In this respect she emphasized the importance of continuing sanctions against Serbia as well as the fact that these sanctions ought to be linked to reintegration of the UNPA into the system of the Republic of Croatia. Speaking about the situation in Bosnia, Mrs. Albright stressed that the United States was concerned over the fighting between the Croats and Muslims. She also emphasized the problem of delivering humanitarian aid to the suffering population of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The United States wants peace, stability, territorial integrity, and democracy in this region, the ambassador said and added that she hoped President Clinton's Partnership for Peace project would secure peace and stability in the region of Central and Eastern Europe and facilitate the incorporation of this entire region into the European order of democracy, peace, stability, market economy, and respect for human rights. Toward the end of the meeting, Ambassador Albright stressed that relations between the United States and the Republic of Croatia will remain good in the future too.

Security Council on Vienna Talks, War Crimes

LD0601195694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Jan 94

[Text] The 34th session of the Presidential Defense and National Security Council was held today under the chairmanship of the Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic. The Council discussed certain topical foreign and domestic policy issues, as well as economic subjects.

The Council was informed about the meeting yesterday [5 January] between the Croatian and Bosnian delegations in Vienna and about preparations for the meeting between Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic scheduled for Saturday [8 January] in Bonn.

It was assessed that Croatia's international position and reputation were good—moreover, owing to Croatia's very constructive role in the resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that they were on the upswing.

Gratitude was expressed to the command of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] which, at President Tudjman's request, had enabled [Zagreb Archbishop] Cardinal Kuharic and Croatian bishops to reach Sarajevo, where they attended the ordaining of the new auxiliary bishop of Sarajevo.

In connection with the publishing of certain classified information by the press, the Council entrusted several state bodies with the task of uncovering those responsible for divulging state secrets.

The participants in the session reiterated the Croatian leadership's stand on the consistent respect for legal regulations and on personal responsibility for the committing of crimes, but also warned that a person was innocent until proven guilty. It was particularly stressed that certain acts committed under wartime conditions should be viewed within the general context of the aggression against Croatia, and the fact that the war was being waged on Croatian soil where many Croats had been killed and towns and villages razed. Therefore, care should be taken that the reputation of the honorable participants in the war must not be tarnished as a consequence of irresponsible editorial practice and the actual misdeeds of individuals subject to criminal prosecution, the announcement issued by the Office of the President of the Republic says.

RSK Warns Croatia Preparing New Offensive

LD0601160994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1521 GMT 6 Jan 94

[Text] Knin, Jan 6 (TANJUG)—Croatia is preparing a new offensive on the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), the general staff of the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) army warned Thursday.

The army statement said the Croatian army is reinforcing its positions, regrouping and bringing new troops into central Adriatic hinterland. The statement adds that the Christmas truce between the forces of the RSK and Croatia agreed at talks in Brussels on December 22 is mostly holding.

The Serbs declared the republic of Serb Krajina in 1991 in areas of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, where they are a majority population, in response to the secessionist policy of the Croatian authorities and their attempt to downgrade the Serbs from a constituent nation to a national minority.

Because of the ensuing clashes between the Krajina Serbs and the Croatian authorities, who do not recognize the RSK, Krajina was declared a UN Protected Area (UNPA). Nonetheless the Croatian army on three occasions, in June 1992 and in January and September last year, mounted offensives on the RSK killing and expelling the civilian population, looting, burning and destroying their homes.

Soldiers Threaten UN Troops; Canadians Held

AU0601195694 Paris AFP in English 1930 GMT 6 Jan 94

[Text] Zagreb, Jan 6 (AFP)—Four Canadian peacekeepers were disarmed and held for several hours by Croatian soldiers who threatened the UN troops with their weapons, the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) announced Thursday. General Jean Cot, the French soldier who commands UNPROFOR in the former Yugoslavia, described the incident Wednesday [5 January] as "outrageous" and demanded that the Croatian soldiers be punished.

The Canadian troops had obtained a routine authorisation to cross Croatian lines in the Medak enclave in the south of the country. Seven Croatian army soldiers approached them and ordered them to lay down their weapons before the Canadian soldiers were led away at gunpoint. UNPROFOR said the four were released after negotiations with a local Croatian commander.

Canada has 560 troops in the region based at Gracac. They were deployed in the Medak area after Croatian troops attacked Serb villages, massacring dozens of people.

Federal

Army 'Explanation' for Albanian Citizen's Death

LD0601113694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1059 GMT 6 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Jan (TANJUG)—In connection with a statement issued by the Albanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was broadcast by several foreign news agencies from Tirana regarding frequent incidents that have taken place along the Yugoslav-Albanian border, the information service of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army has issued the following explanation:

"Border units of the Yugoslav Army have been strictly observing the rules of border service, and all incidents in which people who were illegally crossing the border were either caught or killed have taken place on the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

"This has always been established by interstate commissions following investigations.

"Members of the Yugoslav Army have been facing an increasing number of attempts by Albanian citizens to cross the border illegally. Such people are armed, and on several occasions armed incidents occurred, resulting sometimes in the wounding or death of Yugoslav border guards.

"The latest incident, in which Albanian citizen Mustafa Ramadan was killed, took place on 3 January this year in the region of the border watchtower at Krstac on the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The mentioned person lost his life after he tried to escape, despite warnings given by the border guards of the Yugoslav Army," the explanation by the information service of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army says in conclusion.

Serbia

Draskovic on Milosevic's 'Military Parliament'

AU0701115094 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6-9 Jan 94 p 3

[Article by C.M.: "'Military Parliament' Is Already in Session"]

[Text] Belgrade—The president of the Republic wanted a parliament to be proud of, that is, a parliament that would be a voting machine for endorsing the national policy. Since he did not get it, he intends to give us a parliament made up of the military, the police, the judiciary, and the prosecution, and this "parliament" is already in session.

Addressing journalists at a news conference yesterday, Vuk Draskovic, president of the Serbian Renewal Movement, thus expressed doubt that the new Serbian parliament will be set up at all.

"The army is practicing beating up those who do not have anything to eat in front of the television, while the chief of the General Staff, threatening that he will not allow the violation of the Constitution, holds the view that all political parties except the Socialist Party of Serbia are a political evil, not realizing that the causes of this evil are sitting opposite him at the meeting of the Supreme Military Council. The District Public Prosecutor's Office is filing charges, while the police are arresting miners, railroad workers... and tomorrow students, workers, and peasants... thinking that they will fill the empty bakeries with bread by filling prisons with the hungry. We cannot go to Szeged [in Hungary], Sofia, or Skopje without paying a tax in German marks, and if Serbia continues in this way, I am afraid we will end up in Bucharest," Draskovic said.

The leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement mainly handled the many questions from journalists "with gloves." He mentioned a possibility of federal elections being held in April or May (and perhaps even new republican elections). He rejected the possibility of the Serbian Renewal Movement supporting the minority government of the Socialists. He indicated that electricity shortages before New Year happened because energy was being exported....

However, the leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement assessed much more positively the current role of Vojislav Seselj ("we have not forgotten what he did, but he has now taken a correct stand toward the Socialist Party of Serbia"), confirming that he has been in telephone contact with the leader of the Radicals. The leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement also promised that the dispute between the Radicals and DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia] concerning the setting up of a board of enquiry in the Chamber of Citizens will soon be resolved, "because mistakes were made by both sides."

Seselj Condemns 'State Terror,' Lists MP's

LD0601222494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1345 GMT 6 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Jan (TANJUG)—Vojislav Seselj, chairman of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], today condemned the behavior of the Belgrade regime toward elections in the republic of Serb Krajina, labeling it as "backroom dealing."

At a news conference, Seselj said that "backroom dealing by the Belgrade regime police in Krajina unveils the mechanism that the regime is also secretly using in Serbia." According to him, authorities in Serbia believe that by TV manipulations in the next 12 days, ahead of the fresh round of elections in Krajina, they can change the will of the Krajina people. "The Serbian Radical Party will do everything to prevent it," Seselj stressed.

He also announced that the Radicals will "do everything" to prevent the continuation of the government campaign against private business owners, members of

the Serbian Radical Party, which has taken on the form of thwarting their business activities in order to ruin them financially.

Seselj also condemned, as he put it, the state terror against organizers of the latest strikes, which, according to him, are an expression of workers' discontent. "The regime must do something to avoid strikes, but not to achieve it by arresting organizers, but by improving the living standard of all those employed," he added.

Seselj read out a list of deputies to the Serbian Assembly appointed by the Main Committee of the Serbian Radical Party. Out of 39 SRS deputies to the republican parliament, these are the SRS MP's from the electoral district of Belgrade: Dragan Todorovic, Aleksandar Vucic, Stevan Vukajlovic, Dusica Nikolic, Stevo Dragisic, Miroslav Dereta, and Miroslav Bogdanovic.

MP's from the electoral district of Zrenjanin are: Radomir Popovic, Lazar Marjanski, Bozidar Vujic, and Ziva Ladicorbic.

MP's from the electoral district of Kragujevac are: Tomislav Nikolic, Miroslav Dramlic, Marko Popovic, Dragutin Stambolic, and Aco Gajic.

Deputies from the electoral district of Leskovac are: Jovica Stojmenovic, Stanislav Momcilovic, and Ljubomir Kragovic.

Deputies from the electoral district of Nis are: Dragoljub Stamenkovic, Branislav Vakic, Vojin Veljkovic, and Milovan Radovanovic.

Deputies from the electoral district of Novi Sad are: Igor Mirovic, Nikola Vasic, Milorad Marcic, Elvira Fekete-Vlaovic-Kovacev, Stanko Studen, Rade Pavlovic, and Sava Zarkov.

MP's from the electoral district of Pristina are: Jorgovanka Tabakovic and Vojislav Dimitrijevic.

MP's from the electoral district of Smederevo are: Aleksandar Djuric, Milovan Konstantinovic, and Zivorad Jeremic.

Deputies from Uzice are: Aleksandar Stefanovic, Zoran Subotic, Miroslav Neskovic, and Zivorad Tiosavic.

Recent Strikes, Lack of Solidarity Decried

AU0601210594 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 6 Jan 94

[Dnevnik 2 editorial commentary]

[Text] The railroad, Serbian Electricity Board, Kolubara coal mines, and Belgrade Public Transport Company strikes came and went. What they left behind is the enormous damage done to the state and the citizens. They left behind the bitter realization that the organizers of the strikes did not show the least bit of solidarity with the citizens. The strikes took place—what a coincidence—on the eve of the New Year holidays, at a time when new threats by world powers started coming in, at a time of terrible and criminal sanctions imposed by order of the same world powers.

It is not a coincidence that the strikes were organized in enterprises of vital significance to the state and nation. The railroad, electricity board, coal mines, and public transportation are all state and national property. Therefore, they are not somebody's inheritance to be played with, even less to be used to blackmail both the state and the citizens. The members of the leaderships of the independent trade unions should be aware of this. They bear the greatest share of responsibility for the initiation and consequences of the strikes. Their sponsors are fully aware of this.

Those who issued the orders have, for the time being, remained behind the scenes. However, it is known that, for example, the Soros Foundation is significantly aiding the activities of some of the independent trade unions. This is precisely the foundation whose founder put his signature on the petition calling for the bombing of Belgrade. The strikes are sponsored by those who wish to destroy the Serbian people.

At the same time, the West was gloating over these pre-New Year events. Radio's Voice of America was ominously forecasting chaos in Serbia. Certain West European newspapers and certain domestic, so-called independent media were not far behind. They did not meet with success. The state reacted, and what is most important, the citizens—although overwhelmed by great dissatisfaction and anger—knew what the real background to the strikes was. The organizers also sensed this.

The County Public Prosecutor's Office qualified the strike in the Kolubara coal mines as attempted sabotage. However, we have to say that some of the responsible authorities did not react adequately, although there could be no doubt that someone was trying to sabotage and paralyze public life in Serbia. For the sake of truth it needs to be stated that the Kolubara miners—and miners in other mines—and the railroad and electricity board employees are not in a favorable position. However, they are in no worse a situation than the great majority of citizens. On the contrary, they have the largest salaries, and what's more, they do not hide this fact.

This is precisely the reason—and responsibility—that those employed in public companies, particularly at a time of crippling effects of sanctions imposed by the world powers, should exhibit more, much more solidarity with the citizens, who rightly expect them and the state to regularly supply them with electricity and coal, and to secure regular and safe railroad and bus transportation. The times call for solidarity, not pig-headedness.

Macedonia

Divisions in PDP Noted Before Congress

AU0701121994 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 6 Jan 94 p 4

[Article by P. Dzambazovski: "The Two Currents Against the Center"]

[Text] The PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] Congress should take place by 15 January this year and the Preparatory Committee is intensively engaged in it, claiming that there will be no postponement this time. Menduh Taci, the leader of the so-called "hard" current and president of the Tetovo branch, has also become a member of the Committee. By the way, the delegates and ministers consider Taci an illegitimate president of the so-called new party leadership constituted at the Gostivar meeting last month.

As a reminder, toward the end of last year the PDP's breakup came to a head. The "hard" current did not give up its request for a change in the leading structures, which resulted in the collective resignation of the central Presidency, "in the interest of consolidation." The group headed by Taci received support from official Albania, which resulted in a meeting organized in Gostivar, where the new leadership was nominated, which was then proclaimed as illegitimate by the group of delegates and ministers. However, it seems that a kind of a compromise has been reached by making Taci a member of the Preparatory committee. His nomination was made in his capacity as president of the Tetovo branch, although the Committee considers his office illegitimate. We discovered from well-informed sources that such a decision was reached in order to avoid a deepening of the conflict situation, and it was emphasized that the Tetovo assembly was not held, and if Taci had not been elected president of the branch, and a delegate as well as a member of the Central Assembly, the Tetovo assembly would not participate in the Congress.

The same sources told us that there is a growing sense within the PDP that the collective Central Presidency resignation was a political error and nonsense, because there was no perception of further activities. The division within the party was deepened, and there was interference by official and semiofficial political circles in neighboring Albania, thus causing total confusion within the membership. The most surprising thing that happened was the support that Albania gave to Menduh Taci, who stated in Tirana that the new leadership (elected in Gostivar) would represent a factor of stability in Macedonia, (as if the old one had not been such a factor), while his assessments in Macedonia were that the old leadership was too mild, announcing a radical change in the party national policy concerning the state institutions. It was also estimated that the division caused a loss of confidence among the membership regarding the different currents of the power struggle and that the so-called center of the party, which, according to these sources, stands firmly on an election course, is in practical terms without a partner. Allegedly, the "hard" current does not have a precise political platform and its campaign stems from a superficial criticism. The group of delegates and ministers have been deeply involved with the authorities and policy, and, allegedly, they do not reflect clearly the wishes of the membership.

Concerning the Congress Preparatory Committee, which has the role of temporary party leadership, it is now headed by delegate Abdurahman Aliti, the documents are being prepared by delegate Naser Ziberi, and the member of the resigned Presidency, Mahi Nesimi, is engaged in the preparation of the program, and is also going to be in charge of the press service. The well-informed sources claim that Abdurahman Aliti is going to be the new PDP president.

[Box, p 4]

News Conference Scheduled but Not Held

Yesterday a news conference was scheduled in the headquarters of the PDP, organized by the former Party President Nevzat Halili. At least that was the information delivered to the press. The journalists were there at the scheduled time, but Halili did not appear. The people in the PDP headquarters were surprised at the presence of the journalists, and nobody could give any explanation.

It was either because of false information given on Halili's behalf, his inability to send information to the PDP headquarters or his being unable to arrive at the scheduled time—or was it perhaps a totally different reason?

Montenegro

'Expected Secessionist Crisis' Viewed

AU0701121894 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 31 Dec 93-2 Jan 94 p 18

[Commentary by Frane Plancic: "Montenegro Under Military Management?"]

[Text] Serbian plans for Montenegro have long been known, and they have long been implemented without any great problems, in cooperation with [President of Montenegro] Bulatovic and [Prime Minister] Djukanovic, the duo in power. What is not known are the Serbian plans for solving the expected secessionist crisis in Montenegro. However, there are certain indications of these plans, such as the deployment of the means for a preventative solution to this crisis by force, which have already been carried out. Naturally, the matter involves the Yugoslav Army (the Serbian armed forces), whose troops are on the alert because of the "constant danger from Croatia and Albania."

Belgrade is prepared to solve this "secessionist crisis" either by introducing martial law or by war. In either

case, what Serbia must have is the following: territory clear of Albanians and Croats, a short period to apply armed force, achieved by deploying force on the crisis territories at the appropriate time, and, finally, to keep the situation on the borders with Albania and Croatia politically unstable, so that "internal intervention" could be covered and justified by external reasons.

The plans for the additional militarization of the Lustica peninsula (the Boka Kotorska bay), Valdinos cove (near Ulcinj), and Krnjicko Oko (on Lake Skadarsko) thus assume a clear political and military meaning. Belgrade's plan is accompanied by a request for building apartments for about 10,000 officers and their families.

Most of all this is being planned in eastern Herzegovina, densely populated by autochthonous Albanians. It clearly follows that "cleansing" is being planned. At the same time, Serbs are being settled in the area, so with additional militarization a favorable "balance of power" in relation to the Montenegrin "secessionists" is being achieved. The militarization of Lustica and the advanced cleansing of the autochthonous Croats in Boka is being guided by the same principle.

The decision to turn the Lustica peninsula into a military range and the construction of a naval port (base, stronghold) at Valdinos is primarily an open threat to Montenegrin sovereignty, and indirectly also to Croatia and Albania, since it is assumed that these countries will act aggressively toward Montenegrin territory.

The naval port of Valdinos does not only have a "land" purpose (threatening the Montenegrin secessionists), but its primary task is to hold the Serbian fleet that needs to secure for Belgrade a part in controlling the sea and the traffic in the wider Otranto area, especially when the lifting of the sanctions or a laxer regime of navigation and traffic is expected, as is constantly being announced in Belgrade. A more acceptable explanation has been put forward in the Montenegrin public—that all this is a question of defense measures.

Viewed more passively, this represents the redeployment of the fleet from Boka, where the ships are within the range of Croatian weapons. Moreover, it would be difficult for the many different ships and submarines to sail out on time, fast, and in an orderly manner.

Valdinos Cove offers much better opportunities for active defense measures, at least insofar as it is further from Croatia and as it is easier to sail out of. However, all the other conditions are less favorable than those at Boka. This cove is only a mile long, the water 5 to 15 meters deep, and it is surrounded by hills that are, on average, two to three times lower than those at Boka, and open to strong winter winds. When one sails out of the cove, as is the case with Boka, the ships are in the open, at the mercy of a superior opponent from the air, the sea, or under the sea. Particular drawbacks are the fact that all the work has to be done from scratch (where will this kind of money come from?), that it will take a long time, and then there is also the hinterland with which Valdinos has very weak traffic and other connections.

After all, is the best indication not Belgrade silently overlooking the fact that Valdinos is not the best choice? There are several coves more appropriate for the purpose, but the "trouble" is that there is no Albanian or Croatian population there.

While talking to several senior Croatian Navy officials, we agreed that Montenegro (when it truly is Montenegro) will have the legitimate right to establish its own navy, in accordance with its defense needs, and also to take all passive and active security measures. However, they stated that the warships at Boka are neither Montenegrin property (but Serbian, while they are waiting for the division to be legally resolved), nor a factor of legitimate defense. Moreover, it is not such a bad thing that the Serbian fleet has been moving further away from our border.

It is quite another matter as to what will happen when Montenegro becomes the Republic of Montenegro, and when it has to defend itself on all sides against a spreading Belgrade aggression. The Slovenes, Croatians, Muslims, and Albanians had no other solution. It is therefore probably not necessary to point out that we are not dealing with fools and politically illiterate megalomaniacs such as Admiral Isakovic—who addresses the people from The Galeb [formerly Tito's ship] in the manner of Tito—but with clear-headed criminals who could be said to rank among the most notorious in the world.

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